HELLENICA II

Hellenica

Selected Papers on Greek Literature and Thought

Volume II: Lyric and Drama

M. L. WEST

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Preface

This second volume of *Hellenica* contains papers related to lyric poetry and drama. 'Lyric' is here used in the broad, barely defensible sense by which it covers elegiac and iambic as well as melic poetry, and even the gnomic hexameters of Phocylides. Rather than divide the book into two parts, I have made a roughly chronological sequence, turning to drama after Pindar and then back to later lyric after Carcinus.

There have been many exciting discoveries in this field during my working life. To say nothing of all the Menander—a great author, but one with whom I have had little engagement—there have been the Cologne Epode and the Telephos elegy of Archilochus, precious new scraps of Sappho allowing the reconstruction of an almost complete poem, and major pieces of Stesichorus and of Simonides' elegies. In a couple of these cases I had the privilege of contributing to the first publications, in others I was well placed to intervene soon after the texts appeared. If I have not included all of these contributions in the present volume, it is because, as in Volume I, my selection focuses on items that treat questions of literary history or longer passages of text rather than those concerned with individual textual problems. With the new texts a certain amount of close textual work was unavoidable, but I have chosen for inclusion the papers in which wider issues were also discussed or some larger picture drawn. Similarly from my seven-part series of 'Tragica' (*BICS* 24–31) I include only two sections that deal with whole scenes of plays, and from my review of A. F. Garvie's *Choephori* only the portions of general import. From certain articles dealing with a miscellany of lyric topics I have excerpted single sections. In a couple of cases I have put two articles, or excerpts from articles, together in one chapter. Partly for this reason and partly from whimsy, the chapter headings are not always the same as the titles of the original papers.

I need not repeat from the preface to Volume I everything that is also applicable to this one. But for those who do not have that volume to hand it may be helpful if I repeat the explanations of certain technical details of my practice. The original places of publication are given at the beginning of each chapter at the foot

of the page. The original pagination is indicated in the body of the text by a vertical divider followed by the number of the page that began at that point. Footnotes are numbered sequentially through each chapter. In most cases this was so in the original papers, but where it was not, or where I have taken an excerpt from the middle of a longer paper with a footnote series beginning at a higher number than 1, I have noted the fact at the beginning of the chapter, and anyone who desires to know the original numbering of a footnote will have to locate the relevant page-divider and count from there, or do some simple arithmetic. To avoid disturbing the numeration when adding supplementary notes I have numbered them in a separate series prefixed by s (s1, s2, etc.) and placed them together at the end of the chapter. The reader will therefore find three kinds of reference sign in the text with raised numbers: [6] refers to a footnote, [s6] to a supplementary endnote, [|6] to the break between pages 5 and 6 in the original publication.

Volume III, which may be expected in 2013/14, will contain an index of the publications exhumed or excerpted in the whole collection.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank the staff of Oxford University Press for the efficiency and cooperative spirit with which they have supported my efforts and helped to make the book a material reality.

M.L.W.

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Abbreviations

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ANET	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
Ath. Mitt.	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BKT	*Berliner Klassiker-Texte*
CAG	*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*
CEG	P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CLE	*Carmina Latina Epigraphica*
Coll. Alex.	J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*
CPh	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CRIPEL	*Cahiers de Recherche de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*
DAGM	E. Pöhlmann–M. L. West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music*
Denniston	J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed.
DK	H. Diels–W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
GDK	E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*
GGA	*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
IEG	M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, 2nd ed.

IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
KB	R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 1. Teil besorgt von F. Blass
KG	R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 2. Teil besorgt von B. Gerth
Kl. Schr.	*Kleine Schriften*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*
Mus. Helv.	*Museum Helveticum*
OCT	Oxford Classical Text
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PCG	R. Kassel–C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
Phil.	*Philologus*
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*
PMGF	M. Davies, *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*
QUCC	*Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*
RE	Pauly–Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RÉG	*Revue des études grecs*
Rev. arch.	*Revue archéologique*
Rh. Mus.	*Rheinisches Museum*
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SGEI	M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*
SIFC	*Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*
SIG	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed.
SLG	D. L. Page, *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
Symb. Osl.	*Symbolae Osloenses*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TrGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

1

A New Epode of Archilochus

Archilochus' authorship is guaranteed for the new fragment by language, style, and content, even if not by citations. The metre is epodic, as in the poem that begins after it in the papyrus. We clearly have a piece from a book that contained Archilochus' *Epodes*. In the new text Archilochus describes how he seduced the younger sister of Neoboule. We must start from the fact that the poet himself is the narrator. The first person in iambus is not always to be identified with the poet;[1] there is always the possibility 1[482] of role-playing and a fictional situation. But ancient readers found no indication in Archilochus' various poems about Neoboule that he was not the one who was engaged to her and who subsequently lampooned her. So we shall make the same assumption for the new poem.

The girl who appears as the poet's partner in the poem is Neoboule's younger sister. This follows from the fact that she commends a girl from her own household whom the poet can take if he is unwilling to wait. His reply makes it clear that she means Neoboule, who is now too old for him. There is mention elsewhere in Archilochus of an unnamed sister of Neoboule. He claims to have had sexual relationships with both sisters (fr. 54 W.). We now learn the name of their mother, Amphimedo, and that Archilochus esteemed her highly despite his hatred of the father, Lycambes, but that she had died, probably recently.

Translated from (various), 'Ein wiedergefundenes Archilochos-Gedicht?', *Poetica* 6 (1974), 468–512, which appeared shortly after the text in question, the Cologne Epode (Archil. 196a W.), was published by Reinhold Merkelbach and myself in *ZPE* 14 (1974), 97–112. My contribution appeared on pp. 481–5. The others participating were T. Gelzer, W. Theiler, L. Koenen, H. Flashar, and K. Maurer.

[1] Cf. K. J. Dover, 'The Poetry of Archilochos', in *Archiloque* (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 10, Vandœuvres-Genève 1964), 183–222, esp. 206–12.

The story of Archilochus' enmity towards Lycambes and his daughters is attested in various ancient sources. Lycambes had promised his daughter Neoboule to Archilochus but later reneged on the agreement. Archilochus then lampooned him and his two daughters in such vitriolic iambi that the girls (or according to later sources the whole family) hanged themselves for shame. Among other things he described how he had met the girls in Hera's holy precinct and taken his pleasure there with both of them.[2] Parts of the story are confirmed by surviving fragments of Archilochus. In the famous Epode that contained the fable of the fox and the eagle (frr. 172–81) he complained of Lycambes' having broken his oath and violated the sacrament of salt and table.[3] A series of trimeter fragments contain elements of sexual narrative that may have served to defame the daughters.

l[483] The situation in the new fragment does not altogether fit the transmitted story. Neoboule is available, but Archilochus no longer wants her. No, when the fragment begins, he has clearly just been assuring her younger sister that he would like to marry *her*, and he has proposed showing her straight away what joys Aphrodite confers. She is declining the offer at the start of the text. But she seems not to have said 'never' but 'not yet'. The problem seems to be only that she is still too young. Her breasts have only just grown, she has only just reached puberty (50), and the time for marriage according to Hesiod (*Op.* 698) is the fifth year after that. Her elder sister would be more suitable, and she now longs to marry him. The sister speaks ironically of Neoboule as of someone that the poet does not know; but he knows well enough who she means.

Archilochus gives further play to his arts of persuasion. The girl need not go all the way, she need not give him 'the divine thing' (15). He only asks to do something 'under the coping stone', that is, clearly, her pubic bone, and 'the doors'. She need not worry, he will check himself 'at the grassy gardens', that is, where the hair is growing; in other words he will pull away in good time. This is the earliest reference in literature to *coitus interruptus*, if one leaves aside the story of Onan in Genesis 38: 8–10.

[2] Cf. the defence that Dioscorides, *Epigr.* 17. 7 f. Gow–Page (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 351. 7 f.), puts into the daughters' mouth: *Ἀρχίλοχον μὰ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας οὔτ' ἐν ἀγυιαῖς | εἴδομεν οὔθ' Ἥρης ἐν μεγάλωι τεμένει.*

[3] Fr. 173, *ὅρκον δ' ἐνοσφίσθης μέγαν | ἅλας τε καὶ τράπεζαν.* Cf. also fr. 197, *Ζεῦ πάτερ, γάμον μὲν οὐκ ἐδαισάμην.*

So far as he is concerned Neoboule can 'go to the crows'—the earliest instance of this expression, familiar from Attic comedy. She is over-ripe, πέπειρα, having indulged in the pleasures of love too wildly (μαινόλις), just like the woman in the iambus of Anacreon (fr. iamb. 5 W. = *PMG* 432):

κνυζή τις ἤδη καὶ πέπειρα γίνομαι
σὴν διὰ μαργοσύνην.

The poet, mindful of Hesiod's warning not to make a marriage that will be the laughing-stock of the neighbours (*Op.* 701), is certainly not going to marry a woman like that. If he did so because he could not wait, he would suffer the fate of the proverbial bitch whose over-eagerness results in her giving birth to blind and premature puppies.

Now he progresses from words to deeds. In early Greek poetry one does not speak and act at the same time. The warrior makes his speech, and when it is done he throws his spear. Archilochus takes the girl and lays her down among the flowers. The dialogue I[484] has evidently taken place somewhere where flowers are growing. The poet must have given more details at the beginning of the poem of how and where he met the girl. There are not many possibilities, as opportunities for meeting respectable citizens' daughters in lonely places were limited in Archilochus' time. We may guess that Neoboule's sister—like so many girls seduced by gods or others in the myths—was gathering flowers for garlands when she encountered the poet.[4] There is a fragment of Archilochus (38) that might belong in this context. The Homer scholia quote the verse

οἵην Λυκάμβεω παῖδα τὴν ὑπερτέρην,

and explain that the 'upper' daughter means the younger. A line '[I met] Lycambes' younger daughter all alone' would have made a good opening to the poem.[5]

Archilochus spreads his cloak over the girl. He keeps his promise and completes the act 'just touching the golden hair'.

Erotic narratives of ostensibly autobiographical character seem to have been a standard element in the Ionian iambus. We have

[4] Cf. the material collected by Winfried Bühler, *Die Europa des Moschos* (*Hermes* Einzelschriften 13, Wiesbaden 1960), 77–82 and 109–15, and now 'Hes.' fr. 26. 18 ff.

[5] [Footnote withdrawn.]

examples in the fragments of Semonides of Amorgos and more extensively in Hipponax, where they take a particularly disgusting and farcical form. Sexual activities are described in which the narrator took part. The relevant fragments of Archilochus known till now were in trimeters, so far as their metre could be determined, and it looked as if this type of narrative was more characteristic of his trimeters than of his iambi in other metres. I say 'iambi in other metres', because the term ἴαμβος was applied in antiquity not only to verses in iambic rhythm but also to trochaic tetrameters and in all probability to epodes; Callimachus' book of *Iamboi* contains poems in epodic metre, and Horace refers to his own *Epodes* as *Parii iambi.* We now learn that the *Epodes* of Archilochus, like his trimeters, contained such erotic narratives. In other words, these narratives could appear not only in recited verse but also in a sung iambus.

However, there appears to be a stylistic differentiation. In the trimeter fragments the most explicit words are used without restraint: l[485] σάθη, μύζειν, ἐπείσιον. In the new epode the language remains on a more decorous level, even though the sense is plain enough. Metaphors are used in place of direct expressions: not ἐπείσιον, but θριγκός, πύλαι, ποηφόροι κῆποι; not the straightforwardly physical ἐπλήμυρα, but ἀφῆκα μένος. In another epode, very probably the one that begins in the last five lines of the Cologne papyrus, the poet uses expressions like 'blind eels' and 'rocky glens' instead of anatomical terms (frr. 189–90). Perhaps we have here a firm distinction in tone between the sung and the spoken iambus. Vocabulary aside, Archilochus' trimeter fragments go markedly further than our comparatively harmless epode, as do the fragments of Semonides and Hipponax, which are again trimeters. The epode is more restrained and more graceful.

It was already known that dialogue was typical of those iambic narratives. In the new poem it seems to have taken up the greater part of the whole.[6]

Before the new discovery we had only one epode of Archilochus whose content and structure could to some extent be reconstructed:

[6] Comparable in a way is fr. 23, one of the longest surviving fragments from Archilochus' trimeters. There too the poet reports a conversation with a woman who is reluctant to yield to his approaches and whose anxieties he endeavours to allay. There, however, the outcome is not stated: the poem ends with the poet's last speech. The speech-agon was apparently more important than the action to follow.

the one addressed to Lycambes that contained the fable of the fox and the eagle (frr. 172–81). We now know rather more about the nature of the Archilochean epode; and we have recovered, quite unexpectedly, a piece of the finest Greek poetry from the mid seventh century BCE.

2

Archilochus and Telephos

Dirk Obbink has recently published eight new fragments from a second-century book of Archilochus' elegies from which two other fragments had previously been identified.[1] One of the new ones (P. Oxy. 4708 fr. 1) is a major addition to the corpus, giving us parts of 28 consecutive lines, of which 24 are more or less restorable. It is all from one poem. The subject matter is martial. That is not surprising in itself, as warfare is one of the typical themes of Archilochus' elegiac verse. What is surprising is that the new text is almost entirely concerned with an episode from heroic legend: the repulse of the Achaeans by Telephos when, having landed in Mysia under the misapprehension that it was the Troad, they attacked his city supposing it to be Troy.

The attribution to Archilochus is not in doubt. It rests in the first place on the fact that these fragments come from the same roll as P. Oxy. 854, which overlaps with a quotation-fragment (fr. 4). Everything points to this having been a book of elegiac poems by a single author.[2] Dialect, diction, metre, and style are perfectly in keeping with the ascription. The theme of the principal new fragment, running away in battle, is one that we know to have exercised Archilochus on more than one occasion; cf. frr. 5 (~ 295(g)), 88, 94, 95(?).

Before discussing the implications of this find for Archilochus and seventh-century literary history, I will explain how I supplement and understand the text. Obbink quotes many of my suggestions, but

ZPE 156 (2006), 11–17.

[1] P. Oxy. lxix 4708. The previously known fragments from this roll are P. Oxy. 854 (=Archil. fr. 4 West) and 2507 (=Adesp. eleg. 61 W.; identified as from the same roll as 854 by W. B. Henry, *ZPE* 121 (1998), 305). Digital images can be found at http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk.

[2] See Obbink, 19f.

he quotes them piecemeal as he considers the various possibilities for the restoration and interpretation of each line, so that it is not easy for the reader to see how they fit together in a coherent reconstruction. Here is a supplemented text of lines 1–25 with a translation; the traces of lines 26–8 are too slight to yield a single identifiable word.

]ι ῥ̣[ο]ὴν [∪ ∪ –
εἰ δὲ]. [. . . .]. [.]. ι θεοῦ κρατερῇ[ς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
οὐ δεῖ ἀν]α̣λ̣[κείη]ν̣ κ̣αὶ κακότητα λέγει̣[ν.
[]ημ̣ . . . [. . εἴμ]εθ' ἄρ̣[η]α φυγεῖν· φεύγ[ειν δέ τις ὥρη·
κ̣α̣ί̣ π̣οτ̣[ε μ]οῦνος ἐὼν Τήλεφος Ἀρκα̣[σίδης
Ἀργείων ἐφόβησε πολὺν στρατ̣ό̣[ν,] ο̣[ὐδ' ἐγένοντο
ἄλκιμ̣[οι—ἐ]ς̣ τ̣όσα̣ δὴ μοῖρα θεῶν ἐφόβε̣ι̣—
αἰχμητ̣α̣ί̣ περ ἐόντε[ς·] ἐϋρρείτ̣ης δὲ Κ[άϊκος
π]ι̣π̣τ̣όντων νεκύων στείνετο καὶ [πεδίον
Μύς̣ι̣ο̣ν̣, οἳ δ' ἐπὶ θ̣ῖν̣α̣ πολυφλοίσβοι[ο θαλάσσης
χέρς'] ὑ̣π̣' ἀμειλίκτου φωτὸς ἐναιρό̣[μενοι
προ]τ̣ροπάδην ἀπ̣έ̣κλινον ἐϋκν̣ήμ̣[ιδες Ἀχαιοί·
ἀ]ς̣πάσιοι δ' ἐς νέ̲ας ὠ̣[κ]υ̣πόρ̣[ο]υ̣ς̣ [ἔφυγον
π̣αῖδές τ̣' ἀθανάτων κ̣αὶ ἀδελφεοί, [οὓς Ἀγαμέμνων
Ἴλιον εἰς ἱερὴν ἦγε μαχησομένο̣[υς.
ο]ἳ̣ δὲ τότ̣ε̣ βλαφθέντες ὁδοῦ παρά θ[' ὅρμον ἔλασσαν,
Τε]ύθραντος δ' ἐρατὴν πρὸς πόλιν [εἰσανέβαν,
. .]. . [μ]ένος πνείοντες ὁμῶς αὐτο̣[ί τε καὶ ἵπποι
|[12] ἀφ̣[ραδί]ηι, μεγάλως θυμὸν ἀκηχέ̣[μενοι·
φ]ά̣ν̣[το] γὰρ ὑψίπυλον Τρώων πόλιν̣ εἰς̣[αναβαίνειν,
κ]α̣λλι̣[γ]ύ̣ην̣ δ' ἐπάτευν Μυσίδα πυροφόρο̣[ν.
Ἡρακλ]έ̣η̣ς̣ δ' ἤ̣υτης̣[ε], βοῶν ταλ[α]κάρδιον [υἱόν,
οὖ]ρον ἀμ̣[ε]ί̣λι̣κ̣[τον] δηΐ̈ωι ἐν [πολ]έμ̣[ωι,
Τ]ήλεφον, ὅς Δ̣α̣[ν]α̣οῖσι κακὴν [τ]ό̣[τε φύζαν ἐνόρσας
ἦ]ρειδε[ν μο]ῦ̣νος, πατρὶ χαριζό̣μ̣[ενος.

[If an army is driven back by] the force of divine [compulsion, one should not] call it cowardice and [baseness.] We [hasten]ed to flee the fighting; [but there is a season for] fleeing. Once on a time, even by himself, Telephos the descendant of Arkas put the Argives' great army to flight, [and they did not behave] bravely—so greatly did the divine doom frighten them—warriors though they were. The fair-flowing K[aïkos] was crowded with the falling dead, and the [plain of] Mysia, as they towards the beach of the noisy [sea], being slaughtered at [the hands] of an implacable man, turned headlong away, the well-grea[ved Achaeans;] gratefully they [escaped] to their swift-faring ships, those sons and brothers of immortals, [whom Agamemnon] was leading to holy Ilios to fight, but at that point, impaired in their journey, [they had] over[shot their mooring(?) and gone up against

Te]uthras' lovely stronghold, [. . .] breathing ferocity, they [and their horses] alike, in their f[olly], greatly sore at heart; for they thought they were [going up] against the Trojans' high-gated stronghold, while (in fact) they were treading fair-acred, wheat-bearing Mysia. And [Heracl]es came to face them, shouting to his stout-hearted [son, that] implacable [bulw]ark in battle carnage, Telephos, who, [arousing] cowardly [panic] in the Danaans, pressed them back by himself, doing his father's pleasure.

1. Obbink transcribes]. . . . [, and by an oversight this was printed at the beginning of the line on pp. 21 and 28 of the Oxyrhynchus volume. The letters in fact stood above θϵ)ουκρ(ατ, towards the end of the line (as shown in Obbink's new paper, *ZPE* 156 (2006), 1–9). The first two traces are descenders, the second longer than the first, and they are too close together to be anything but ιρ. The third trace is a fairly clear η, but there must have been another (narrowish) letter between it and the rho. As it is the second half of a pentameter, we need short vowels before and after the rho; so probably a word ending in -ĭ followed by some case of ῥοή. The last trace is the foot of an upright, perhaps ν.

2–4. It looks as if Telephos is first introduced in line 5. In these preceding lines, as I see it, Archilochus defends himself and his comrades for having taken to flight in a battle, and pleads that sometimes this is unavoidable. The crucial parallel is Adesp. iamb. 38. 5–11 (which I print here with the supplements suggested in the apparatus of my edition):

5 καὶ τὸ μὲν φυγεῖν ὅταν δῇ [χρεὼ τις, οἷα καὶ τότε
ἀνδράσιν κείνοις χολωθεὶ[c θεὸς ἐπώτρυνε στρατόν
δυσμενέων, κομῆτα παίδ[ων,
οὔ σε τοῦτ' ἤισχυνεν, οὐδὲ ν[έμεσίς ἐστιν, ἀσπίδα
ὡς ἀπ' εὐεργέα τινάξας ἐτρ[άπης
10 καὶ γὰρ ἀλκιμωτέρους cέο κατ̣α̣[λαβόντα δείματα
ταῦτ' ἐπηβόλη[c]ϵ· θεοὺς γὰρ οὐκ ἐνίκ̣[ησεν βροτός.

Now, to run away when [there is some necessity—as on that occasion,] angered with those men, [the god urged against them the army] of the enemy, O long-haired lad—[is excusable.] It is not this that disgraced you, and there is no r[esentment] that you shook off your well-made [shield] and tu[rned tail . . .] For braver men than you have been [overtaken] and mastered by these [panics,] for [a mortal] cannot beat the gods.

In publishing these early Ionian tetrameters in 1954, Lobel already identified Archilochus as the likeliest candidate for authorship, and

the parallel with the new elegy makes this appear even more probable.

|[13] For line 4 Obbink cites my suggestion of ν̣ῶτ̣' ἐ̣τ̣[ρεψάμ]εθ' αἰ̣[ψ]α. But I was never satisfied with its rhythm, and as he notes in his palaeographical apparatus,[3] the letter after εθα looks like ρ or perhaps δ or χ. I now propose with a heartier confidence ἄρ̣[η]α. ἄρηα φυγεῖν is the converse of μένειν or μίμνειν ὀξὺν ἄρηα (*Il.* 11. 836, 17. 721).

As for the preceding word, it remains hard to see it as anything but a verb ending in -μεθα. The syllable before -μεθα must now be a long one, if ἄρηα is to be read. I have thought of nothing better than εἵμεθα, 'we sped'.

This leaves the first dactyl to be filled. Obbink read ̣[]ω[]̣[, the last dot representing π or τε. His ω has now been rightly questioned by Wolfgang Luppe,[4] who suggests that it is the right side of μ followed by φ. Under magnification, however, the traces are not compatible with this. It seems to me that the *right-hand* part of the apparent ω is in fact the *left* part of a μ, preceded by the right side of η (or perhaps ω). The stroke above the μ which Luppe has taken as the top of his φ seems rather to be a suprascript iota, implying that the preceding long vowel should belong in a long-vowel diphthong. But I am unable to suggest a restoration compatible with the traces, metre, and sense.

There is no visible punctuation after φυγεῖν, but I cannot think of any convincing way of combining it and φευγ- in the same sentence. (No one, I hope, will want to interpret φευγ[as the exclamation φεῦ followed by a word beginning with a gamma.) The alternative is to assume a separate short sentence. D. J. Mastronarde and C. Murgia are cited as suggesting respectively φεῦγ[ον δὲ καὶ ἐcθλοί and φεῦγ[ον δὲ καὶ αὐτόc.[5] I prefer a general proposition, 'there is a time for fleeing', to lead in to the mythical exemplum. For the expression cf. *Od.* 11. 379 ὥρη μὲν πολέων μύθων, ὥρη δὲ καὶ ὕπνου 'there is a time for . . .', 330 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥρη εὕδειν 'but now it is time to . . .', etc.

[3] p. 22, where there is a confusing misprint: 'after a top of tight bowl' should (I think) be 'after α top of tight bowl'.

[4] 'Zum neuen Archilochos (P. Oxy. 4708)', *ZPE* 155 (2006), 1–4. In most respects, I regret to say, Luppe's article represents a regress with regard to the ed. pr.

[5] Unaugmented φεῦγον (3 pl.) is found in Tyrtaeus (5. 8), and Archilochus himself sometimes omits the syllabic augment both in elegiacs (5. 2 κάλλιπον) and in other metres (192, 219). For fuller information on omission of the augment in the elegiac and iambic poets see *SGEI* 105.

5. The parallel of 'Hes.' fr. 165. 8 *Τήλεφον Ἀρκασίδην* guarantees the supplement. The theoretical alternative of *Ἀρκὰς ἐών*, considered by Obbink, would have no perceptible point.

μ]οῦνος ἐών in antithesis with *πολὺν στρατόν*, as *Il.* 4. 388 *μοῦνος ἐὼν πολέσιν μετὰ Καδμείοισιν*, 15. 611 *πλεόνεσσι μετ' ἀνδράσι μοῦνον ἐόντα*, cf. *Od.* 20. 30, 22. 13; *μοῦνος ἐών* also 17. 94, *μοῦνον ἐόντα* 11. 467, 20. 188, etc. Peleus took Iolkos *μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς*, Pind. *Nem.* 3. 34.[6]

7. Luppe points out that the first word might have been an oblique case of *ἀλκή*. If so, perhaps *o[ἳ δ' ἐλάθοντο] | ἀλκῇ[ς*.

8. Luppe's proposed reading for the first hemistich does not fit the traces (the second letter was certainly not *ε*), and apart from the fact that the perfect is impossible as a narrative tense, his *κέκμηκαν* is an unacceptable form for Archilochus.[7]

For the reference to the Kaikos in this context cf. the Hellenistic or post-Hellenistic hexameter poem on Telephos (and Eurypylos?), P. Oxy. 214=P. Lit. Lond. 39 (*Coll. Alex.* 76f.), 15f. (*Ἀργεῖοι*) *ξανθοῦ φοινίξαντες ἐ[πεὶ] μέ[γα] χεῦμα Καΐκου | Τηλέφου εἰφιτο[*.

9. (My) *πεδίον* is certain; the other supplements considered by Obbink are hangovers from a stage of his workings before I had recognized *Μύσιον* in 10. (So is the now unintelligible reference to 'the idea of 10 *μυρόμεγοι*' in his note on 19.) He cites Pausanias 1. 4. 6 as referring to the battle site as *τὸ Μήιον πεδίον*: the manuscripts there give *μήϊον*, *μὴ ἰὸν*, *νήϊον*, or *μυσὸν*, and Siebelis I[14] long ago restored *Μύσιον*, as printed in Rocha-Pereira's Teubner edition. No *Μήιον πεδίον* is otherwise known.

Luppe's supplements in 9–13, with his proposed new readings in 10 and 12–13, are wholly mistaken.

12. The best parallel for *ἀπέκλινον* is *Hymn. Aphr.* 168, *ἧμος δ' ἄψ εἰς αὖλιν ἀποκλίνουσι νομῆες*.

13. Cf. *Il.* 11. 327 *ἀσπασίως φεύγοντες ἀνέπνεον Ἕκτορα δῖον*.

14. Cf. Pind. *Nem.* 9. 27 *ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισι φόβοις φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν*. Archilochus is probably not thinking of specific heroes such as Achilles, Askalaphos and Ialmenos (sons of Ares, *Il.* 2. 512),

[6] Luppe proposes *κοῦρος ἐών*, but the upright after *ου* is too short for *ρ* (it does not descend below the line), and the gap is too wide for such a narrow letter.

[7] Examples of *-αν* in the 3 pl. of the perfect are much later. To those listed in KB ii. 49 may be added [Empedocles], *Sphaira* 23 *εἴληχαν* (restored for the singular from the Latin version).

Podaleirios and Machaon (sons of Asklepios, 2. 731), but adopting that viewpoint from which the men of the heroic age were collectively ἡμίθεοι (*Il.* 12. 23, Hes. *Op.* 160, 'Hes.' fr. 204. 100) or τέκνα θεῶν (ibid. 101). Cf. Simon. *PMG* 523=245 Poltera, 1–2 οἳ πρότερόν ποτ' ἐπέλοντο, θεῶν δ' ἐξ ἀνάκτων ἐγένονθ' υἷες ἡμίθεοι; id. eleg. 11. 18 ἡμ]ιθέων with variant ἡρώ[ων, and further material in my note on Hes. *Op.* 160. ἀδελφεοί is an unexpected addition to παῖδες, but I suppose anyone fathered by Zeus would be the half-brother of several gods and goddesses.

16. The general sense is clear, but restoration difficult. It seems natural to take ὁδοῦ with βλαφθέντες, as in *Od.* 1. 195 (cited by Obbink) θεοὶ βλάπτουσι κελεύθου. παρά will then govern a second noun or modify a verb, perhaps in tmesis. Reference to the Achaeans' arrival on a beach (θ[ῖνα Janko) seems lacking in point; they would equally have been on a beach if they had found their intended destination. But I cannot think of another likely word with initial θ; hardly θ[εσμόν. The alternative is to suppose τε elided before an aspirated word. (τε ... δέ: Denniston 513 f.) I suggest *exempli gratia*, though without much spirit, παρά θ[' ὅρμον ἔλασσαν, 'overshot their (proper) mooring-place', or παρά θ[' ἵεσαν οὔρους, 'overshot the boundaries'.

17. A finite verb is needed at the end. I favour εἰσανέβαν here as well as εἰσ[αναβαίνειν in 20. In his note on that line Obbink says that this verb lacks the requisite hostile sense, but cf. *Od.* 2. 172 f. ὅτε Ἴλιον εἰσανέβαινον | Ἀργεῖοι = 18. 252 f., 19. 125 f., and also Ibycus S151. 8 Πέρ]γαμον δ' ἀνέ[β]α ταλαπείριο[ν Ἄ]τα.

18–19. For αὐτο[ί τε καὶ ἵπποι cf. *Il.* 13. 684 and 17. 644 αὐτοί τε καὶ ἵπποι, and for the μένος-snorting horses Aesch. *Sept.* 393 ἵππος χαλινῶν ὧς κατασθμαίνων μένει (dative).

If Janko's ἔ]νθα is right before [μ]ένος, a finite verb will be needed at the beginning or end of 19. ἀκηχέ(δ)ατο (*Il.* 17. 637 v.l.) is a possibility for the end, but this isolated Homeric form seems less likely to turn up in Archilochus than the slightly less rare participle, ἀκηχέμενοι. If a verb stood at the beginning of the pentameter, it must have been a short one, no more than two syllables, as]ηι cannot be part of it. The second or third letter had a long descender, as of φ or ψ. I do not see what verb could fulfil these requirements. Obbink's ἀ̣φ̣[ραδί]ηι, on the other hand, offers excellent style and sense and seems compatible with the traces; before the descender there is a horizontal stroke on the line which can be interpreted as

the tail of α. (Admittedly the gap between the putative φ and]ηι looks a little wide for [ραδι].) So perhaps we should not acquiesce too easily in ἔ]ṿθᾳ (which the traces at the beginning of 18 do not particularly suggest), but look for something that will allow these two lines to be an extension of the sentence in 17, two participial clauses hanging on εἰcανέβαν (or whatever the verb was). I have thought of δριμύ, after *Od.* 24. 318 f. ἀνὰ ῥῖνας δέ οἱ ἤδη | δριμὺ μένος προύτυψε, though again the traces are not favourable.

It is not entirely clear why the Achaeans are sore at heart if they are still unaware that they have come to the wrong place. If on the other hand they have realized their mistake, why are they attacking Telephos' city? I have the impression that Archilochus has not thought this out properly. In 16–18 he pictures the heroes launching their assault, full of martial spirit and believing they are attacking Troy (ἀφραδίηι). Then, anticipating his own explanation of their error (20 f.), he pictures them full of chagrin after they have become aware of it.

|[15] 20. If my φ]άν[το] is right, the φα must have been written rather narrow. But I cannot see how else to get the sense required.[8] For εἰc[αναβαίνειν see above on 17.

21. I have restored a word that is unattested but seems to fit the traces and gives excellent sense. One might expect the compound to be καλλίγυος, like Homeric τετράγυος and πεντηκοντόγυος, but Archilochus may have formed -γύης under the influence of γύης, the noun represented in the second element, and a rhyming καλλίγυον ... πυροφόρον might have been felt less than euphonious.[9]

22. The space is tight for Ηρακλ], but Telephos' father must be named here. Then it looks as if ηιτηcε was written, not ηντηcε, but the latter is superior in sense and may be restored by an easy emendation.

23. ἀμείλικτος as in 11. Before it we want a noun that can stand in apposition to ταλακάρδιον υἱόν. Burkert's ἄκ]ρον would be fine if a noun followed (ἄκρον ἀκοντιστήν or the like), but this does not

[8] The reader of Obbink's note will be mystified as to the point of his remarks about τε; the explanation is that he had earlier read τ]ήν τε γὰρ. Luppe's ὤ(ι)ντο is an unheard-of form: this verb contracts only in the 1 sg. (οἶμαι, ὤιμην).

[9] Obbink's suggested κα]λλι[φ]ṿῆν is out of the question: not because καλλιφυής is found only in Nonnus, but because it is not an appropriate adjective for land, and (as Obbink now recognizes), its accusative is anyway καλλιφυῆ.

seem to be the case. My *οὖ*]*ρον* is suggested by the formula *οὖρος Ἀχαιῶν* which is applied to Nestor in *Il.* 8. 80 (*et al.*) and which appears to recur in the later poem about Telephos cited above on line 8.

24–5. Archilochus returns to his starting-point ('ring composition', if you like); *μοῦνος* as in 5. I have not found a plausible alternative to Janko's *Δ̣α̣*[*ν*]*α̣οῖσι*, though it does not appear to fit the traces particularly well. If it is right, Archilochus has used all three of the Homeric terms, *Ἀργείοι*, *Ἀχαιοί*, and *Δαναοί*.

Other seventh-century poets such as Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Semonides, Mimnermus, Alcman, and the Lesbians show a considerable interest in the epic mythology and make many allusions to it. This has not hitherto been much in evidence in Archilochus. He quite often refers to Homeric gods: Zeus (father of the Olympians, 25. 6, 122. 2, cf. 98. 13), Poseidon (*ἄναξ*, 12), Apollo (*ἄναξ*, 26. 5), Ares-Enyalios (*ἄναξ*, 1. 1), Hephaestus (*ἄναξ*, 108), Dionysus (*ἄναξ*, 120), Athena (daughter of Zeus, 94. 2, 98. 7), the Muses (1. 2). And he has them acting in epic fashion: Ares brings the battle together (3. 2), Athena stands beside the army she favours and destroys the morale of the enemy (94. 2 f., 98. 6 f.), Zeus perhaps deploys his scales (91. 30?). On the other hand there is very little in the fragments and testimonia to suggest an interest in the myths. Three separate witnesses attest that Archilochus somewhere—we do not know in what metre—related the tale of the Centaur Nessos' attempt to rape Deianeira as he carried her across the Euenos and his killing by Heracles; in the course of the assault Deianeira herself recalled Heracles' fight with Achelous for her (frr. 286–8). Clearly the poet must have told that story at some length, with speeches. Did he devote a poem to it, or was it an excursus? Why was he interested in it? Did it arise in an iambic context concerned with sexual molestation? We speculate at large. Then there are two isolated testimonia, one saying that Archilochus described Achilles' son Pyrrhos dancing for joy after killing Eurypylos (fr. 304, from Hesychius, quoted below), the other that he told of Lynkeus killing Danaos, marrying his daughter Hypermestra, and taking over the Argive kingdom (fr. 305, from Malalas). In both cases the attribution to Archilochus has been questioned. Even if it is correct, these need not have been more than passing allusions, though they would testify to Archilochus' acquaintance with those mythical contexts.

Now suddenly comes confirmation that he not only knew some mythology but was on occasion inspired to relate a mythical episode at some length. If I have interpreted lines 2–4 rightly, he introduced it as an *exemplum* into a context concerned with contemporary events. But if his hearers were as familiar with the story as he was, lines 5–7 might have sufficed to make his point. The fact that he goes on about it at such length must mean that he enjoys telling it for its own sake. We cannot determine how much of the poem preceded the preserved portion or how much more followed. I suspect that the re-l[16]telling of the myth was the main *raison d'être* of the poem, and that it did not go on much longer once the narrative part ended.

There can be no serious doubt that Archilochus knew the story from hexameter epic current in his time. His adaptation of it into elegiacs is a reflection of his enthusiasm (even if it was only a temporary enthusiasm) for this poetry. What light does this new discovery throw on the development of epic about the Trojan War in the seventh century?

From the perspective of a Parian or Thasian in the mid part of that century the epopoeic scene may have looked very different from what modern literary histories might lead one to imagine. Archilochus will have listened to recitations by various poet-rhapsodes living on his island or passing through, covering a miscellany of episodes from the heroic past. Many of these will have related to the Trojan War, its prehistory, or its aftermath, and he will have been familiar with the outlines of the whole story. What we must not take for granted is that he had heard the *Iliad*, or any part of it, or any similar poem centred on the wrath of Achilles towards Agamemnon. It cannot be too often emphasized that on the evidence of vase painting, as well as of literary allusion, poetry about the Trojan War was widely known from before 700, but the *Iliad*, so far as we can see, not before about 630.[10]

The new Archilochus is consistent with this finding. If the *Iliad* had been established in Archilochus' time as the supreme epic, he could easily have drawn from it to demonstrate his point that even the best fighters are sometimes forced to flee. For much of the time the Achaeans are retreating from Hector's onslaughts. Yet Archilochus turns to what is from the modern point of view a subsidiary episode peddled by Cyclic poetasters.

[10] Cf. *Mus. Helv.* 52 (1995), 206 f. = *Hellenica* i. 192 f.

The story of the Achaeans' mistaken landing in Mysia, their attack on Telephos' city, and his repulse of them was related in the *Cypria*, as we know from Proclus' summary (with the parallel account in Apollod. *Epit.* 3. 17; cf. sch. D *Il.* 1. 59). The *Cypria* was probably put together a good century after Archilochus, but most of the material in it of course came from older tradition. The *Little Iliad*, which may date from about 640–620,[11] also alluded to the episode (fr. 24 Bernabé=4 Davies, West). But Archilochus may now count as the oldest source.

In both the *Cypria* (Proclus) and the *Little Iliad* (loc. cit.) it was related that after departing from Mysia Achilles had been carried by a storm to Skyros; there he had married Deidameia and fathered Neoptolemos, also known as Pyrrhos. As these events happened years before the action of the *Little Iliad* began, they must have been recalled in that poem in a parenthesis, or explained by the captive seer Helenos, in connection with the fetching of Neoptolemos to Troy. After being brought to Troy he received his father's armour and in his first major battle killed Telephos' son Eurypylos, who had arrived to support the Trojans with an army of Mysians (or Κήτειοι, 'Hittites', *Od.* 11. 519–22).

As I noted above, Neoptolemos' killing of Eurypylos is one of the few mythical events that Archilochus is reported to have mentioned. It begins to look as if he knew the whole strand of story that led from the Achaean invasion of Mysia and Telephos' initial success against them to his wounding by Achilles, his subsequent healing by him, and the battle between their sons at Troy many years later; though it is not likely that Archilochus himself gave a continuous account of these events.

But it is not enough to say that he had heard epic about the run-up to the Trojan War that contained, like the *Cypria*, the episode in Mysia, and also epic about the end of the war that contained, like the *Little Iliad*, Neoptolemos' fight against Eurypylos. It can hardly be sheer coincidence that of his very few attested references to heroic myth one should be to Telephos and another to Telephos' son.

The inference is that he had heard epic in which Telephos and his son were linked in a single story-line; in which they did not just have separate cameo roles in the broad sweep of the saga but were focal characters. This would have been a poem, or perhaps a pair of

[11] Cf. *CQ* 53 (2003), 13=*Hellenica* i. 260, and my Loeb *Greek Epic Fragments*, 16.

poems, a diptych, in which the personal I[17] dealings of two opposed heroes (and later their sons) were foregrounded, while the progress of the war was merely the background. The skeleton of the story was: Achaeans go to Mysia—Achilles wounds Telephos—Achilles heals Telephos—Telephos directs Achaeans to Troy—Achilles fathers Neoptolemos—Neoptolemos joins Achaeans at Troy—Eurypylos leads Mysians to Troy—Neoptolemos kills Eurypylos.

This would be something different in kind from the attested epics of the Cycle. With its cross-generational dimension it is in a way more akin to the Theban Cycle (*Oidipodeia*, *Thebais*, *Epigonoi*, *Alkmeonis*), though surely on a smaller scale. It is the sort of structure that was later to appeal to Attic tragedians as the basis for trilogies. Sophocles wrote an *Aleadai*, a *Telephos*, a *Mysians*, and an *Eurypylos*, and it is a reasonable guess that at least some of these belonged together in the *Telepheia* trilogy or tetralogy of which a performance *c.*380 is recorded.[12]

Archilochus is not likely, in the elegy before us, to have taken the story of Telephos further than his successful rout of the Achaeans, since that is, so far as we can see, the point of the *exemplum*. Yet we know that he somewhere referred to Pyrrhos' victory-dance on the defeat of Telephos' son: Hesych. π 4464 *πυρριχίζειν· τὴν ἐνόπλιον ὄρχησιν καὶ σύντονον πυρρίχην ἔλεγον, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Πυρρίχου τοῦ Κρητός, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ διάπυρον εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως· ἐφησθέντα γὰρ τῶι Εὐρυπύλου φόνωι ὀρχήσασθαί φησιν Ἀρχίλοχος* (fr. 304 W.). *ὅθεν καὶ ὁ πυρρίχιος ποὺς ὠνομάσθη.*

Archilochus will not have been the first to connect the *pyrrhiche* with Pyrrhos; nor will he have adverted to Pyrrhos' dance in a spirit of antiquarian aetiology. But we are now in a position to surmise the context in which it was relevant. In our elegy the poet plays down the significance of a lost battle; the Parians have suffered a setback (perhaps in their struggle against the Naxians, the subject of frr. 89 and 94). Later in the poem he might well have reminded his audience how the Telephos saga ended: with the hero's son slain and his opponent performing a victory dance.

[12] *IG* ii^2 3091 = *TrGF* i DID B 5. 8. Cf. Richard Carden, *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles* (Berlin–New York 1974), 3; Stefan Radt, *TrGF* iv. 195, 434.

3

The Date of Alcman

Once more: that section of the Alcman commentary in P. Oxy. 2390, fr. 2 lines 13–22, which refers to certain Spartans of royal lineage. F. D. Harvey's conclusions in *JHS* 87 (1967), 62–73, have been cited by most subsequent editors of Alcman with apparently unqualified approval.[1] They are, however, open to criticism both on historical and on philological grounds.

Here is the text of the passage with only the most obvious supplements.

νῦν δ' ἴομες τῶ δαίμονος
ἕω(ς) τοῦ ***παι[δῶν]*** ***ἀρίσταν·*** *Λεωτυχίδας*
Λ]ακεδαι[μονί]ων βασιλεύς· ἄδηλον δὲ
θ]υγάτηρ ἣ Τιμασιμβρότα
]. αι τινος. ***φυὰν δ' ἔο[ι]κεν***
π]αιδὶ ξανθῶι Πολυδώ[ρ]ω[
Λ]εωτυχίδα υἱός ἐστι τοῦ[
]βασιλέ[ω]ς· [το]ῦ δ' Εὐρυκ[ρ]α-
Πολύδ]ωρος καὶ Τιμ[ασιμ]βρότα
θυγά[τηρ.

Restoration depends to some extent on reconstruction of the Spartan royal genealogies. On p. 67 of his article Harvey sets out, as if it were factual and more or less uncontroversial, a version of the Agiad

'Alcman and the Spartan Royalty', *ZPE* 91 (1992), 1–7, supplemented by an extract (pp. 192–4) from 'Alcmanica', *CQ* 15 (1965), 188–202. The footnotes in the latter paper were numbered anew on each page.

[1] D. L. Page, *SLG* 156; D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric*, ii (Cambridge, Mass. 1988), 388 ff.; M. Davies, *PMGF* 11 f. C. Calame, *Alcman* (Rome 1983), 436 f., does not commit himself. Other relevant literature: D. L. Page, *CR* 9 (1959), 20 f.; P. Janni, *Studi Urbinati* 33 (1959), 162–72; W. S. Barrett, *Gnomon* 33 (1961), 688 f.; M. L. West, *CQ* 15 (1965), 188–92; M. Treu, *RE* Suppl. xi. 22 f.; F. J. Cuartero, *Boletin del Instituto de Estudios helénicos* (Barcelona) 6 (1972), 13 ff.; J. Schneider, *RÉG* 98 (1985), 1–64.

and Eurypontid lines from Alkamenes and Theopompos down to Kleomenes and Leotychidas II, with cross-arrows marking attested synchronisms. In the footnotes the ancient evidence (or most of it) is cited for each element in the construct, and the impression is given that everything rests on firm foundations. Herodotus' and Pausanias' rival versions of the Eurypontid succession are both accommodated at the cost of assuming that a series of Demaratos' ancestors whom Pausanias believed to be kings were not kings.[2]

But at one point Harvey's stemma contradicts ancient testimony, and he does not acknowledge the fact. He fails to mention that Hagesikles[3] is stated, by the only source on I[2] the matter, to be the son of Archidamos,[4] and instead he makes him the son of Hippokratidas, for which there is no authority and no adequate reason.[5] To Harvey's list of synchronisms we might add that of Anaxandros with Hagesikles' grandfather Anaxidamos.[6]

The effect of these corrections is to bring Archidamos, the father of Hagesikles, into the generation of Hippokratidas and the Agiad Eurykratidas. The two stemmata, from the mid eighth century to the time of Croesus, appear as in the Table opposite (kings capitalized).

Theopompos is mentioned as reigning both with Alkamenes and with Polydoros. As six generations of Theopompos' descendants, or seven in his elder son's line, correspond to five of Polydoros', it is reasonable to suppose that Theopompos was considerably older than Polydoros and more nearly the coeval of Alkamenes. At the lower end, Hagesikles may have been somewhat older than Hagesilas, whose throne he for some reason pre-empted, and Ariston may have been somewhat older than Menares; their sons Demaratos and Leotychidas II were near enough in age to want the same woman (Hdt. 6. 65. 2), but it was Ariston's son who got in first.

[2] So K. J. Beloch, *Hermes* 35 (1900), 255, who convincingly refuted the old conjecture of Palmerius at Hdt. 8. 131. 3, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτά for πλὴν τῶν δυῶν.

[3] So we ought to call the king who appears in Herodotus as Ἡγησικλέης and in the Pausanias manuscripts as Ἀγασικλῆς or Ἀγησικλῆς. Historians have tended to suppose that for a Spartan king the form with the largest number of alphas will be the most correct.

[4] Paus. 3. 7. 6.

[5] Harvey refers to G. L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (London 1962), 117 f. This alteration of the genealogy in fact goes back to G. Dum, *Spartanische Königslisten* (Innsbruck 1878), 20; cf. W. den Boer, *Laconian Studies* (Amsterdam 1954), 67.

[6] Paus. 3. 3. 4+3. 7. 6; 4. 15. 3. From the last passage it is clear that Pausanias has constructed this synchronism by counting down the king-lists from Polydoros and Theopompos.

|[3] Let us now reconsider the fragmentary Alcman commentary. From lines 14–15 we infer that Alcman had used a phrase something like *Λατυχίδα (. . .) παιδῶν ἀρίσταν*, 'the finest of Leotychidas' daughters'. Homeric lines such as

Λαοδίκην, Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην

spring to mind.[7] The commentator explains who Leotychidas was, but couples this statement with an expression of uncertainty over the paternity of one Timasimbrota. Clearly he is in doubt as to whether the phrase *παιδῶν ἀρίσταν* referred to Timasimbrota. So she can hardly have been named in that sentence, but she must have been named in the context, perhaps in the preceding or following sentence. We see from the Louvre Partheneion how Alcman could jump from praising one girl to praising another, speaking now of Agido, now of Hagesichora, now of an unnamed *χοραγός* or *χοροστάτις*. The commentator familiar with this style might reasonably be uncertain whether 'the finest of Leotychidas' daughters' in one sentence was the same person as Timasimbrota in the next. The most suitable supplement is *ἄδηλον δὲ [πότερον τούτου θ]υγάτηρ ἢ Τιμασιμβρότα [ἢ ἑτέρας μέμν]ηταί τινος*.[8]

Harvey's supplement *[τίνος ἐστὶ θ]υγάτηρ* is surely too short,

[7] *Il.* 3. 124, cf. 2. 715, 6. 252, 13. 365, 378.

[8] This modifies my proposal in *CQ* 15 (1965), 189. For the use of *ἄδηλον* in expressions of doubt about whether two persons are the same cf. Ath. 436d *Ἀρκαδίων (ἄδηλον δ' εἰ ὁ Φιλίππωι διεχθρεύσας)*, 586c *(Γλυκέραν τε τὴν Θαλασσίδος . . .), ἄδηλον εἰ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ Ἁρπάλωι συνοῦσα.*

and it ignores the relation between θυγάτηρ and παι[δῶν] ἀρίσταν in the lemma. It is only because of that phrase that the question of Timasimbrota's father is raised: if he was not Leotychidas, it does not matter who he was. Harvey's supplement in 17, [καὶ τίς ὁ υἱὸς κ]αὶ τίνος, has even less basis in anything suggested by the lemma. His idea is that 15–17 state questions to which 19–22 give the answers. The apparent lemma in 17–18 is really, he thinks (following a suggestion by Oswyn Murray), a quotation from another part of the poem, which the commentator presents in order to deduce the answers to his own questions. But firstly, if the commentator had been quoting from elsewhere in the poem, he would have said so, with δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν or some such expression; secondly, we do not see how he could have deduced from a mention of 'Polydoros son of Eurykrates' (as Harvey supplements 18) either that Hippokratidas was 'the son of the other king, Leotychidas' or that Timasimbrota was Eurykrates' daughter; and thirdly, if he had made such reckless inferences, he could not have announced his findings so abruptly, without so much as an ἄρα or οὖν. However we supplement 18–21, it is clear from the general style and structure that φυὰν–Πολυδώ[ρ]ω[is the next lemma after the one in 13–14, and the following lines a commentary on it. Harvey's whole construction of the passage, ingenious though it is, creaks with artificiality.

Now the second lemma. Theoretically Πολυδώ[ρ]ω[could be genitive -ω not dative -ω[ι, and although in ξανθῶι the ι is preserved, this too might be an error for -ῶ. But on I^4 stylistic grounds ξανθῶι should certainly be joined with the following name (so not ξανθῶι dative+Πολυδώρω genitive), and it should adorn the son, who is the person emphasized, rather than the father. So the probability is that the structure was (genitive name) παιδὶ ξανθῶι Πολυδώρωι, not (dative name), παιδὶ ξανθῶ Πολυδώρω. The pattern was like the common Homeric pattern

> Ἀγκαίοιο πάις, κρείων Ἀγαπήνωρ.
> Πειριθόου υἱα, κρατερὸν Πολυποίτην.[9]

So someone—perhaps the daughter of Leotychidas, perhaps Timasimbrota, conceivably neither of these—is being praised by being compared to Polydoros son of X.

[9] *Il.* 2. 609, 12. 129; cf. 1. 489, 5. 376, 881, 6. 130, 8. 377, 12. 182, 15. 576, 17. 1, 59, 23. 472.

The commentator is concerned to explain who is related to whom. First he says that someone is the son of the king already mentioned, Leotychidas. This someone is presumably one of the two men named in the lemma, for otherwise the statement will have no discernible relevance. He will not be Polydoros, because in 20–1 it looks very much as if Polydoros and Timasimbrota are coupled as the children of Eurykra[t-]. So it should be X, the father of Polydoros in 18, who is identified as the son of Leotychidas in 19, and in 20–1 it appears that X=Eurykrates or Eurykratidas. The structural logic therefore calls for

φυὰν δ' ἔο[ι]κεν
Εὐρυκρατ . . . π]αιδί, ξανθῶι Πολυδώ[ρ]ω[ι·
Εὐρυκρατ-] Λεωτυχίδα υἱός ἐστι τοῦ
20 *προειρημένου] βασιλέ[ω]ς, [το]ῦ δ' Εὐρυκ[ρ]α-*
τ . . . υἱὸς Πολύδ]ωρος καὶ Τιμ[ασιμ]βρότα
θυγά[τηρ.[10]

The only son of Leotychidas previously known was his successor Hippokratidas. His name has generally been restored in 19. But as we have seen, the name missing in 19 ought to be the same as the one missing in 18, that of Polydoros' father, and Polydoros' father is apparently not Hippokratidas but Eurykrates or Eurykratidas. There is no reason why Leotychidas should not have had another son besides Hippokratidas.

The names Polydoros, Eurykrates, and Eurykratidas all occur in the Agiad dynastic line. Scholars have tended to assume that the Eurykra[t-] of our text, if not the Polydoros, must be one or other of these Agiad kings. But if he is the son of the king Leotychidas, this is ruled out. The commentator twice specifies that Leotychidas was a king, and he does not say this of Eurykra[t-] or Polydoros. That the same names might occur in both the Agiad and the Eurypontid family is shown by the examples of Agis and Anaxandridas. However, we cannot rule out Barrett's suggestion that *Λεωτυχίδα* in 19 was written in error as a result of his mention in the previous note, and that the statement intended was *Εὐρυκρατίδας*] l[5] *Ἀναξάνδρου υἱός ἐστι τοῦ* [*Λακεδαιμονίων*] *βασιλέως*. In this case we are after all among Agiads.

[10] Cf. W. S. Barrett, *Gnomon* 33 (1961), 688 f.

A difficulty that arises on any view is that Timasimbrota is now firmly identified as the daughter of Eurykra[t-], whereas earlier the commentator was in aporia over whether she was Leotychidas' daughter. Perhaps our text is giving us material from different authorities; we know that the commentator was drawing on more than one predecessor. Or perhaps it is somewhat abbreviated, and what was originally presented as a guess (*ἴσως ἂν εἴη*) has been reduced to a plain assertion (*ἐστί*). If so, we should be left without any definite evidence on Timasimbrota's identity, only with the fact that it made sense, so far as an ancient scholar with the whole of Alcman's poem before him could see, to suppose that she was a granddaughter of Leotychidas and sister of Polydoros.

If he was right, it is not an unattractive hypothesis that Timasimbrota was the subject of *φυὰν δ' ἔοικεν . . . Πολυδώρωι*. She would be being praised by being compared in nobility of appearance to her brother. This is also Harvey's opinion. Let us lend it a healthy colour by quoting Bacchylides 5. 165, where Heracles asks Meleager

> *ἦρά τις ἐν μεγάροις Οἰνῆος ἀρηϊφίλου*
> *ἔστιν ἀδμήτα θυγατρῶν <u>σοὶ φυὰν ἀλιγκία</u>;*
> *τάν κεν λιπαρὰν ἐθέλων θείμαν ἄκοιτιν.*

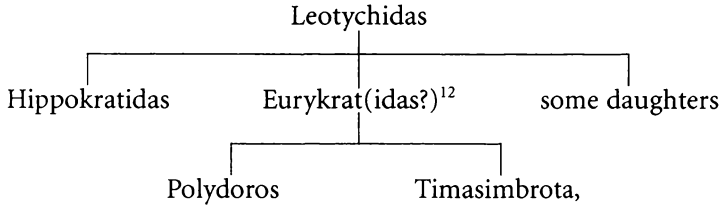
One may hesitate over the circumstance that Polydoros is entitled 'the son of Eurykra[t-]', as though his father were different from that of the subject of the comparison.[11] But perhaps Euripides, *Bacch.* 917, gives some reassurance on this point. Dionysos tells the disguised Pentheus

> *πρέπεις δὲ Κάδμου θυγατέρων μορφὴν μιᾶι.*

What can we extract from all this for the dating of Alcman's poem? I think it is prudent to keep open the two alternatives about 19, namely (A) that *Λεωτυχίδα* is correct, (B) that it has displaced the name of an Agiad king.

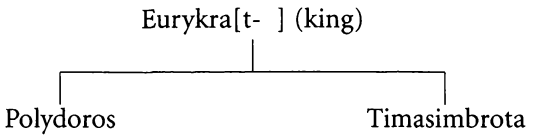
[11] Cf. Harvey, 66 n. 13.

|6 On hypothesis A we have the stemma



and Alcman referred, in the context of a women's ceremony, both to a daughter and to a granddaughter of Leotychidas, the first a mature lady, the second probably still a young girl. We have no dates for Leotychidas. Rhianus associated him with the Second Messenian War, which took place sometime in the second or third quarter of the seventh century. This must carry some weight.[13] The generation-count down from Theopompos, the elderly victor of the First Messenian War (*c.*735–715), and up from Leotychidas II (reigned *c.*491–469) suggests that Leotychidas I should have been born between about 665 and 640. With the higher date he might well have taken part in the Second Messenian War as a young man. But even if he was born about 665, he is unlikely to have had a granddaughter taking part in a public ceremony before about 600. On hypothesis A, then, we are led to a dating of the poem in the early sixth century. I do not see how a date as late as 570 could be excluded, however shocking it may be to some people's prejudices.[14]

On hypothesis B Alcman referred to a daughter of Leotychidas and to an Agiad family



[12] The writing on the papyrus is variable in size, but the gap in 19, so far as I can judge, favours *Εὐρυκρατίδας* as against *Εὐρυκράτης*. (In the genitive, of course, line 18, both names have the same number of letters.) On the other hand one might find it surprising that a son of Leotychidas should bear the same name as the contemporary Agiad king.

[13] See the detailed discussion by J. Schneider, *RÉG* 98 (1985), 31–47.

[14] Harvey, 69, writes that Alcman 'referred to king Leotychidas, but his son Hippokratidas is apparently not yet king. Alcman therefore lived during the reign of

In proposing this hypothesis Barrett was surely right to opt for Eurykratidas, the son of Anaxandros, rather than his grandfather Eurykrates. Apart from the argument from spacing in 19, the younger man was much the closer in age to Leotychidas. In this case the ceremony involves princesses from both royal houses, daughters of Eurykratidas and Leotychidas. The |[7] upper date-limit of the poem will be somewhat higher than on hypothesis A, but probably not earlier than 625.

One further morsel of evidence has come to hand since P. Oxy. 2390. Another Oxyrhynchus papyrus, 3210, brought further shreds of a commentary, probably from the same manuscript as 2389. Fragment 2 contains at line 6 the letters]αρχιδ[, and three lines higher a dubious ᾳ̣ρχιδαμ[. The editor, M. W. Haslam, comments at 6, 'A mention of Archidamus, apparently, but of no chronological importance, for in the Eurypontid succession given at Herod. 8. 131 Archidamus is two generations earlier than Leotychidas, who figures in the Alcman commentary XXIV 2390.'[15] He has overlooked the fact that in the collateral line given by Pausanias there is a younger Archidamos in the same generation as Eurykratidas, perhaps somewhat younger than Leotychidas. There is a fair chance that an Archidamos mentioned by Alcman was this one.

[From *CQ* 15 (1965), 192–4]:

At least one of Alcman's poems, then, was composed not earlier than about 620. We can safely say that the Louvre Partheneion too was composed well after the middle of the seventh century. The girls who sang it appeared in Lydian μίτραι, which they refer to as a great ornament together with their purple and their gold bangles: μίτρα Λυδία, νεανίδων ἰανογλεφάρων ἄγαλμα. We know from a poem of Sappho, apparently composed in exile, that this was |[193] a comparatively recent fashion. When Sappho's mother grew up, even a red ribbon was considered a more than ordinary adornment:

Leotychidas.' But there is nothing whatever to indicate that Hippokratidas is not yet king, and there is the possibility that τῶ δαίμονος in 13 refers to the dead and heroized Leotychidas (J. A. Davison, *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrologists* (Oslo 1961), 33; cf. Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 15. 9).

[15] *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xlv (1977), 11, followed by Campbell, *Greek Lyric*, ii. 399; no comment in Davies, *PMGF* 65.

ἃ γάρ μ' ἐγέννα[τ' ἔφα Κλεΐς,[16]

σ]φᾶς ἐπ' ἀλικίας μέγ[αν
κ]όσμον, αἵ τις ἔχη φόβαις
πορφύρωι κατελιξαμέ[να πλόκωι,

ἔμμεναι μάλα τοῦτο δ[ή·

. . . .

μ]ιτράναν δ' ἀρτίως, Κλ[εΐ, – ∪ –

ποικίλαν ἀπὺ Σαρδίω[ν . . .

(fr. 98a. 1–11). It is unlikely that the fashion raged earlier in Lacedaemon than in Lesbos.

The remarkably cosmopolitan condition of the Greek racing stable at the date of the poem also favours as late a date as possible. It contains horses from Lydia, from Scythia, and probably from the northern Adriatic.[17]

Other fragments of Alcman, especially 148–57, show his interest in geography and ethnography. Of particular importance is the fact that he referred, perhaps in an exuberant catalogue of the peoples his fame had reached (fr. 148), to the Balearic islands (fr. 157), which are unlikely to have been known to the Greeks before Kolaios' voyage in about 640 (Hdt. 4. 152), and which show no Greek remains datable before 600.[18] He also referred to the Ἐσσηδόνες or Ἀσσηδόνες (fr. 156).[19] This was the remote tribe that Aristeas claimed to have

[16] Sappho's mother is said to have had the same name as the daughter whom Sappho addresses in this poem. The assumption that she was named here, 'the other Kleis, the one who bore me', will explain why Sappho says 'she who bore me' instead of 'my mother'. The division μ' ἐγέννατο is doubtful; Alcaeus has γέννατο thrice without augment (43. 13, 308. 3, 327. 2), but all in mythical genealogies.

[17] Fr. 1. 51, 59. Venetian horses were celebrated at least as early as the fifth century, and Euripides has no qualms about giving them to Hippolytus, though perhaps he is not the poet most likely to be worried by an anachronism. It is not very probable that in this one passage of Alcman the reference is to the Paphlagonian Eneti, who are not known as horse-breeders to us and apparently not to Strabo (5. 1. 4) either. Cf. R. L. Beaumont, *JHS* 56 (1936), 191. Another Adriatic tribe appeared in Alcman, fr. 151. On Greek penetration of the Adriatic see in general J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, 4th ed. (London 1999), 225–9.

[18] Boardman, op. cit., 212 f.

[19] The manuscripts of Stephanus of Byzantium are at variance between Ἐσσηδ- and Ἀσ(σ)εδ-. The η in the second syllable is guaranteed by the following words εὑρίσκεται δὲ ἡ δευτέρα παρ' ἄλλοις διὰ τοῦ ε̄. In the first syllable the vowel is elsewhere Ἰ- in Greek, except for an alternative in Ἀ- recorded in P. Oxy. 1611 fr. 11. 7, but E- in Latin. If Alcman wrote Ἀ-, he may have associated the name with the Mysian town of Assos, which he also may have mentioned (fr. 153).

visited, and there is much to be said for the view that before the composition of the *Arimaspeia* they had never been heard of.[20] The influence of this poem on Alcman has also been found in his Rhipaean Mountain (fr. 90) and in the adjective Κολαξαῖος (fr. 1. 59).[21] It has been denied, necessarily, by those who I[194] have dated Alcman early and Aristeas late. Personally I cannot see any valid reason for doubting that the *Arimaspeia* was composed in the seventh century, or that the verses quoted by 'Longinus' and Tzetzes are genuine fragments of it.[22] It is not certain that Alcman knew it, but if he was a contemporary of Sappho and Alcaeus, there is no reason why he should not have done.

These considerations, based on the fragments, are our best evidence for Alcman's lifetime. Compared with them, the statements of Eusebius and the *Suda* are such stuff as dreams are made on. Of the three dates they offer, 672/69, 658/7, and 609/8, the last, which has generally been thought unworthy of serious discussion, now seems nearest to the truth. The two higher dates, as Rohde pointed out, have it in common that they both represent the seventh year of the reign of Ardys in Lydia, on different systems of chronology; and it has been thought that Alcman may have referred to some event in the seventh year of Ardys (really 646/5). This remains possible. He might have referred to such an event at the time of its occurrence,

[20] Cf. J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford 1962), 5 and 40; on the other side, Schmid–Stählin, *Gr. Lit.* I. i. 303 n. 7, K. Meuli, *Hermes* 70 (1935), 154 n. 2 = *Gesammelte Schriften* (Basel–Stuttgart 1955), 853 n. 3, and W. Burkert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), 235 f., arguing from the different form used by Alcman.

[21] A. A. Blakeway *ap.* C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 1st ed. (Oxford 1936), 66; Bolton, op. cit., 40, 43, 187 n. 4, 188 n. 9. Bolton suggests that Κολαξαῖος was coined by Alcman from Κολάξης (*Colaxes*, Val. Fl. 6. 48), the Scythian king known to Herodotus as Κολάξαϊς, and meant no more than Σκυθικός. It is perhaps more likely that he had heard (from Aristeas or elsewhere) of a tribe Κολάξαι whose eponymous ancestor the king was, and formed his adjective from that. The scholia to the Partheneion in P. Oxy. 2389 fr. 6 i do not give the impression that Colaxaean horses were known from any other source.

[22] *Pace* Bolton 7–19. Cf. D. A. Russell, *'Longinus' On The Sublime* (Oxford 1964), 103. Longinus' fragment is surely not 'the surprised comment of innocent continentals on the first ship they have heard of' (Russell)—they seem to know all about navigation by the stars, seasickness, and the danger of drowning—but the comment of a man who only sails from necessity, probably Aristeas himself, upon men who go to sea for weeks at a time: perhaps long-range Greek traders who conveyed Aristeas as far as the north shore of the Black Sea, and whose way of life was not generally known in Aegean Greece. Hesiod's comments would have been similar in tone.

and still have been writing poetry in 600.[23] Or the relationship between the two dates may be fortuitous.[24]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

The higher dates given by Eusebius and the *Suda* are based on retrojections from later lyric poets. The *Suda* follows an authority (Apollodorus) that put Alcman 40 years before Stesichorus:

α 1289 (Alcman) ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς κζ' Ὀλυμπιάδος (672/69).
σ 1095 (Stesichorus) τοῖς δὲ χρόνοις ἦν νεώτερος Ἀλκμᾶνος τοῦ λυρικοῦ, ἐπὶ τῆς λζ' Ὀλυμπιάδος (632/29).

Eusebius put him 40 years before Arion (a μαθητὴς Ἀλκμᾶνος according to τινές *ap. Suda* α 3886). In Jerome's version:

Ol. 30. 3 (658/7) Alcmeon clarus habetur.
Ol. 40. 3 (618/7) Arion Methymnaeus clarus habetur.

Cf. E. Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 33 (1878), 199–201 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 156–8; F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik* (Berlin 1902), 198; A. A. Mosshammer, *The* Chronicle *of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (London 1979), 218–25, 230 f.

[23] He represents himself as an old man in fr. 26.

[24] D. L. Page, *Alcman. The Partheneion* (Oxford, 1951), 166, calls archaeology to witness that the bright Sparta of Alcman is that of the seventh century, and does not correspond to conditions in the sixth. The argument is weakly grounded: see R. L. Wade-Gery, *JHS* 77 (1957), 324.

4

Burning Sappho

> The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece,
> where burning Sappho loved and sung.

In his enthusiasm for Hellenic ideals, Byron may have seen Sappho's life rather in the light of his own: on the one hand she loved, freely and passionately, and on the other she sang. That she was much given to both occupations will not be disputed. But if we are to attain any real understanding of her, a simple dualism is surely inadequate. She used her love for making song, and her song in the pursuit of love. This interaction inevitably complicates the picture, particularly as we know her only through the words of her songs. Are they all equally the expression of real and immediate feelings? To what extent is she thinking as a poetess, and to what extent as a lover? Was it the practice of music that kept her in contact with those whom she loved? I hope that the following remarks may contribute something to the discussion of such questions. It will be necessary to go over some familiar ground, and the reader must not expect me to conjure up a new and different Sappho, but at best, like one who cleans an old painting, to sharpen her outlines and clarify a number of obscure details.

Let us remind ourselves of the general nature of the texts we are dealing with. Except perhaps for a few stichic compositions like fr. 44 (all references are to Voigt), they were songs, in recurring stanzas, which implies a recurring tune. It is a reasonable supposition that all songs in the same metre were sung to the same tune. (It is true that for the hymns sung in our churches there is often a choice of tunes, but there much simpler rhythms are involved.) As there is no

Maia 22 (1970), 307–30.

regularity in the distribution of accented syllables from stanza to stanza, it appears that the melody did not follow the accents of speech; that was probably a new feature in Timotheus and his fellows, who developed their free, astrophic music just so that it could follow the words more closely and express their individual nuances.

The tunes do not seem to have been elaborate, since the stanzas |[308] are clearly articulated in two, three, or four lines, some of which may be rhythmically identical. In several of the metres we see the pattern A, A, B, where B is an extended form of A. The so-called Alcaic and Sapphic stanzas both fall in this category (cf. D. Korzeniewski, *Griechische Metrik* (Darmstadt 1968), 129f.; below, pp. 94f.), and in quoting from Sappho's first book in this article I have given her back her long third line instead of snipping off the Alexandrian colometrists' sad little 'adonian'.

FRAGMENT 1

The one complete song that we have takes the form of a prayer to Aphrodite. But this is a literary device: a real prayer could not have contained a description of previous epiphanies that the goddess must know to be fictitious and fanciful,[1] and it would have had to specify what it was that Sappho wanted. She leaves that pleasantly vague. She is suffering ἄσαι, ὄνιαι, μέριμναι, but names no names. Aphrodite is asked to accomplish 'all that my heart desires to accomplish', but not informed what her heart does want to accomplish. It is represented to us that at other times, after coming in response to a summons, the goddess has been briefed in a private *tête-à-tête*; this

[1] Apul. *Met.* 6. 6 differs only in elaboration: *currum deae prosequentes gannitu constrepenti lasciuiunt passeres et ceterae quae dulce cantitant aues melleis modulis suaue resonantes aduentum deae pronuntiant*, etc. The naive-realist interpretation, which assumes that Sappho's earlier prayers had habitually been greeted by mass descents of sparrows, developed by imagination into a golden chariot and a speaking goddess, really will not do. See H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy* (Oxford 1975), 177f.; T. Krischer, *Hermes* 96 (1968), 10–12. Krischer also disposes of Page's aberrant interpretation of 21–4 (*Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955, hereafter *SA*), 14–16): it is a statement of Aphrodite's power, not a comment on mortal fickleness.

irregular procedure looks as if it has been invented for consistency with Sappho's present reticence.[2]

According to Wilamowitz Sappho is reticent because she is singing not to Aphrodite or to herself but in her circle of girls, one of whom is, without realizing it, the object of her love. If Aphrodite answers the prayer with her presence, the penny will drop, the girl will know that she is meant, and will be moved by the very diffidence of the approach.[3] An admirably vivid picture; but now compare Thgn. 1323–6:

| [309] *Κυπρογένη, παῦσόν με πόνων, σκέδασον δὲ μερίμνας*
θυμοβόρους, στρέψον δ' αὖθις ἐς εὐφροσύνας·
μερμήρας δ' ἀπόπαυε κακάς, δὸς δ' εὔφρονι θυμῶι
μέτρ' ἥβης τελέσαντ' ἔργματα σωφροσύνης.

Here is a little poem, no doubt of sympotic origin, like much else in the Theognidean collection, showing the same features as Sappho's song. Was this too a delicate message to one of the original listeners? Was it not rather a party piece that a score of men repeated with equal appropriateness whether their favourites were present or absent? If we read through the amatory poems of the Theognidea, we find many that speak quite openly to the boy concerned; there is no question of a indirect approach; but still he is not named (with the exception of Theognis' own Cyrnus), it is always *ὦ παῖ*. On vases it is often *ὁ παῖς καλός* rather than *N καλός*. There is more than one reason for anonymity. The state of being in love is not shameful, but the identity of the loved one may be.[4] Hence it may become a habit of style that he or she is not named, as in our own popular songs it is 'my love', 'my darling', 'you'. Such songs have the best chance of being propagated, for anyone can sing them with his own love in mind. Anyone could buy the pot, too, and identify the boy as he pleased.

We cannot take it so far with Sappho. It is not a love song for Everyman, it is labelled as hers:

[2] It may well be influenced, as Krischer suggests, by the scene between Achilles and his mother in *Il.* 1. 351 ff., knowledge of which is shown by Alcaeus (44. 6–8).

[3] *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913, hereafter *SS*), 48. Most interpreters ignore the problem.

[4] Cf. Thgn. 1271–2 (*μευ* is to be retained), 1341–4; Theoc. 14. 19–42, Catull. 6, Hor. *C.* 1. 27, Prop. 1. 9.

τίνα δηὖτε πείθω
†μαισ ἄγην ἐς σὰν φιλότατα; τίς σ' ὦ Σάπφ' ἀδίκησι;[5]

|[310] But we must reckon with the possibility that she is doing something parallel to the man who comes out with an amatory skolion at a symposium: just singing a song of love, perhaps with a particular person in mind, perhaps not, perhaps different people on different occasions.

The content of the song can be reduced to 'Oh dear, I am in love again', a conventional theme which recurs in fr. 130. 1, Ἔρος δηὖτέ μ' ὁ λυσιμέλης δόνει, and in Alcman (*PMGF* 59a), Ibycus (*PMGF* 287), and Anacreon (*PMG* 376, 413, 428). The idea of a prayer to Aphrodite was a regular stand-by of Sappho's; it appears also in frr. 2, 5, 15, 33, 35, 60?, 86, 101. More than once she represents herself as enjoying a special relationship with her and talking to her. In fr. 65. 5+66c. 1+87e. 1,[6] someone says

Σάπφοι, σὲ φίλ[ησ' – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ Ἀφροδίτα]
Κύπρωι βασίλη' α̣[∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ σέ]μνα.

133. 2 seems to be first line of a song[7] in which Aphrodite begins 'Sappho, why [do you call upon] the goddess of great fortune, Aphrodite?', and 134 the first line of another that began 'I spoke in a dream to the Cyprian'.[8] In 159, again, the goddess is speaking to Sappho, and 22. 15 tells how she had criticized her prayers:

[5] The Dionysius manuscripts offer μαισ, βαισ, καισ. The last involves Ϝὰν for σὰν, and the logic of the καὶ is not obvious, but it is not impossible. βάισ' ἄγην 'going to bring her' would be forced; μαῖσ', if a possible form, involves the intervention of Peitho (Πείθω⟨ν⟩) where we expect Aphrodite to act in person. It has been suggested that a scribe accidentally began to repeat the verse before, which begins with μαι. P. Oxy. 2288 is conjectured to have had ἄ]ψ σ', but I do not see why Sappho should represent her favourites as always having to be won *back*; there is a chance that an unwanted ψ (if that was written) comes from a correction Ψ(άπφ') for Σάπφ' below. I have preferred Σάπφ', persuaded by G. Zuntz (*Mus. Helv.* 8 (1951), 16–22) that that Ψ was an early misinterpretation of a sibilant ш or ⋔ (ṣ, *tsade*) used by Sappho in spelling her own (Asianic) name. The argument does not fall if Lesbos had the ψ sign with the same value as in the Ionian alphabets (L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961), 361).—I print Meillet's elegant ἀδίκησι to advertise it, but ἀδικήει may be right.

[6] The combination with 87e may be effected by reading ἀέ]λ̣ι̣ος in 87e. 4 and assuming omission of φαέθων before it.

[7] Quoted by Hephaestion to illustrate a metre, with 133. 1: his habit is to quote the first example in a poem, and these two lines do not look like the second or third in a stanza.

[8] Another conventional device, cf. Alcman 47 ἦρα τὸν Φοῖβον ὄνειρον εἶδον, and perhaps Alcaeus 444.

καὶ γὰρ αὔτα δή πο[τ'] ἐμέμφ[ετ' ἄγνα K]υπρογέν[ηα[9]
ὡς ἄραμα[ι.

What is individual in fr. 1 is the description of the confrontation: it constitutes the body of the song and, we may say, its *raison d'être*. The groans of love serve as a neat symmetrical frame for that ornately pretty centrepiece.

|[311]

FRAGMENT 31

First some remarks on the text.

ἀλλὰ κὰμ μὲν γλῶσσα ἔαγε, λέπτον δ'
10 αὔτικα χροῖ πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμακεν,
11/12 ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημμ', ἐπιρρόμβεισι δ' ἄκουαι,

κὰδ δέ μ' ἴδρως κακχέεται, τρόμος δὲ
πάισαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας
15/16 ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεύσην φαίνομ' ἐμαύτ[αι.

ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ < ∪ – × >
καὶ πένητα [

9. The manuscript of 'Longinus' gives ἀλλὰ κἄν, from which Lobel elicits ἀλλ' ἄκαν, 'keeping silence'. The sense is hardly strong enough; and we cannot put much weight on a nu for a mu in a minuscule manuscript when it has the effect of turning an unfamiliar into a familiar word, and when Plutarch gives κατὰ μὲν γλῶσσα <ἔα>γε. Lucretius too must have read ἔαγε (3. 155 *infringi linguam*, not in the usual Latin sense of the expression). The verb gives unimpeachable sense. It is not a clumsy substitute for 'destroy', standing in its turn for 'incapacitate'.[10] Sappho is describing a condition in which her tongue fails to respond to the will to move it, and she does so in terms of a limb fracture: it is crippled. The difficulty is the hiatus. One might suppose that the initial *F* was sustained longer than in other words by the following intervocalic one: *F*έ*F*αγε, being felt as a reduplicated form parallel with λέλοιπε etc., might have resisted the general tendency to drop initial *F*. Against that is the fact that Alcaeus 36. 10 has ἐοίκοτες without effective initial *F*. I prefer

[9] The accent]υπρογέν[(reported by Hunt) implies nominative or accusative. Only the nominative will make sense with ὡς ἄραμαι. See below.

[10] Page, *SA* 24.

Sitzler's ⟨μ'⟩ ἔαγε, in spite of Lobel's subtle rules about the use of the pronoun (Ἀλκαίου μέλη (Oxford 1927), lxxxi–viii; Page, l.c.). I cannot see that it is less in place here than in κὰδ δέ μ' ἴδρως κακχέεται. A possible further alternative is γλῶσσαν ἔαγα. The Greeks say κατέαγα τὴν κεφαλήν etc. as readily as we say 'I have broken my collar-bone', without implying intent or contributory activity.

10. χροΐ for χρῶ Blomfield, approved by E.-M. Hamm, *Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios* (Berlin 1957), 157; ignored (like many other good conjectures) by Lobel–Page.

13. The 'Longinus' manuscript gives ἑκαδεμ' ἰδρῶς κακ-|[312]χέε-ται; the Homeric *Epimerismoi* ι 14 quote the line for ἰδρώς feminine, as ἀ δέ μ' ἰδρὼς κακὸς χέεται. Lentz may have been too optimistic in taking this for pure Herodian,[11] but it serves to show that the reading ἰδρὼς κακχέεται is ancient and ψυχρός a gloss. The grammarian who found ἰδρώς feminine here cannot have read either κακός or ψυχρός in his text. To reject what both sources point to, for the sake of a hypermetric and inessential addition in one of them, is a fundamentally unsound approach. It has been followed, since Page, by G. A. Privitera, *Hermes* 97 (1969), 267–72, who provides an interesting collection of Hippocratic statements on cold sweats. The fact that Sappho's sweat was understood to be a cold one by Theoc. 2. 106 (πᾶσα μὲν ἐψύχθην χιόνος πλέον, ἐκ δὲ μετώπω | ἰδρώς μευ κοχύδεσκεν) and by 'Longinus' (ἅμα ψύχεται καίεται) does not involve having ψυχρός in the text.[12]

In the first word, ἀ has the advantage over ἑκα of being metrical and of having prompted the citation. It will nevertheless be corrupt, for an article is really out of place. Ahrens's καδ is probably right. (Cf. *Il.* 11. 811, 16. 109; Thgn. 1017.)

15. 'It appears to me that I shall not want much in order to be dead.' The future infinitive is usually emended; but while logic requires the present, in human speech the futurity in the thought of dying might surely infect the other verb.[s1]

17–18. 'But everything is endurable'—not 'must be endured', as usually translated; that is τολματέον. (Rightly H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy*, 176 with n. 16; *Wege und Formen*

[11] *Herodiani technici reliquiae*, ii. 763. 23; cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* (Leipzig 1897), 286.

[12] Cf. also Ov. *Am.* 3. 14. 38 *perque meos artus frigida gutta fluit.*

frühgriechischen Denkens (Munich 1960), 50.) ἐπεί is going to introduce some reason why it is endurable. The words καὶ πένητα, which are all that survives of the reason, give a clear enough indication of what it was.[13] Compare Thgn. 657–64:

> μηδὲν ἄγαν χαλεποῖσιν ἀσῶ φρένα, μηδ' ἀγαθοῖσιν
> χαῖρ', ἐπεί ἐστ' ἀνδρὸς πάντα φέρειν ἀγαθοῦ.
> οὐδ' ὀμόσαι χρὴ τοῦθ', ὅτι "μή ποτε πρᾶγμα τόδ' ἔσται"·
> θεοὶ γάρ τοι νεμεσῶσ', οἷσιν ἔπεστι τέλος·
> κἄπρηξαν μέντοι τι· καὶ ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸν ἔγεντο,
> καὶ κακὸν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ. καί τε πενιχρὸς ἀνήρ
> αἶψα μάλ' ἐπλούτησε, καὶ ὃς μάλα πολλὰ πέπαται
> ἐξαπίνης ἀπὸ †πάντ' οὖν† ὤλεσε νυκτὶ μιῆι.

I[313] We shall not go far wrong, at least as far as the sense is concerned, if we supplement

> ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ <θέος τοι>
> καὶ πένητα [πλούσιον αἶψ' ἔθηκεν.

Sappho comforts herself with the same optimism that was expressed in 1. 21–4:

> καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει,
> αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει,
> αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα.

Further, since such statements of divine power usually couple raising up with casting down,[14] we may expect the third line of the stanza to say, 'and the prosperous man he reduces to poverty'; e.g. καὶ κάτηλεν αὖθι τὸν ἐξισώμενον μακάρεσσι.

That will have been the end of the song. 'Longinus' had no reason to quote the fifth stanza, unless to complete a poem of which he had already quoted four-fifths. (The curtailment in the manuscript must involve loss in the transmission; he must have given at least the gist of the ἐπεί-clause. The loss of ἐμαύται in 16 may suggest physical deterioration of a manuscript.) As in fr. 1, and perhaps other extant pieces,[15] there is a clear beginning, middle, and end. The weight is in the middle, the end looks back to the beginning—and with what a sting in the tail! The man who appeared ἴσος θέοισι, and was

[13] Milne started on the right lines, *Hermes* 71 (1936), 128.

[14] e.g. Thgn. l.c., Hes. *Th.* 442–3, *Op.* 5–7, Archil. 130, *Il.* 20. 242, 24. 343–4, *Od.* 16. 212, Solon 13. 67–70, Soph. *Aj.* 647; cf. *Od.* 10. 22, Emp. 111. 3–8, Hdt. 1. 5.

[15] Fr. 16 is a likely though not certain case; see below, and Page, *SA* 11 f.

displaced from our attention almost at once by his companion, is sharply recalled by the warning that prosperity may collapse if God so wills. The tables may be turned.

Fr. 165, φαίνεταί Foι κῆνος (quoted for the pronoun), has since Ahrens sometimes been taken for an ancient variant for the beginning of fr. 31. It is an unnecessary hypothesis, for Sappho often repeats phrases from one song to another, as our folk-singers do; and the same Apollonius Dyscolus who quotes it has earlier quoted 31. 1 (for κῆνος) with μοι. On the other hand, φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος is written in the margin in the later passage, which establishes the possibility that it has intruded in the earlier. An unnecessary hypothesis is not I^{314} the same as a false or worthless one. If Sappho ended on the note I have indicated, φαίνεταί Foι has a little more point in the first line than φαίνεταί μοι. Also, when it is the sight of the girl that is so overpowering, it is not quite satisfactory that the man should rate so highly in Sappho's eyes. Certainly Catullus (51. 1) as well as 'Longinus' read μοι.

Catullus' poem—characterized by Wilamowitz with deadly accuracy as *Studentenpoesie*—must also be considered here from another point of view. He omits the fourth stanza, whether from weariness of the exercise or from reluctance to describe himself as greener than grass. He replaces the fifth by one more appropriate to his personal circumstances. (He can hardly have been anxious to exchange roles with Clodia's husband.) At the same time, his closing stanza retains something in common with Sappho's: it is a self-admonition shutting off the ἔκφρασις παθῶν. This is further support for the view that Sappho's fifth stanza was the last.

It is now possible to consider the song as a whole. Here it is in translation, to give an idea of its plainness and simplicity without the false colour lent it by what is to us, but was not to the original hearers, an exotic dialect.

He looks to me to be in heaven,
that man who sits across from you
and listens near you to your soft speaking,

your laughing lovely: that, I vow,
makes the heart leap in my breast;
for watching you a moment, speech fails me,

my tongue is paralysed, at once
a light fire runs beneath my skin,
my eyes are blinded, and my ears drumming,

the sweat pours down me, and I shake
all over, sallower than grass:
I feel as if I'm not far off dying.

But no thing is too hard to bear;
for [God can make] the poor man [rich,
or bring to nothing heaven-high fortune.]

Like the prayer to Aphrodite, it is built about a centrepiece, in this case a description of the physical effects of an emotional shock, a [315] description not wholly without poetic precedent.[16] [s2] Again the loved one is not identified.[17] She is addressed in the second person, but the dramatic setting is not the real one: no girl who affects Sappho as described is actually sitting there talking to 'that man' as Sappho composes or sings the song, for she would not then be able to do it. The song, then, is sung for others, designed to be sung for others. If they knew the 'you' of the song to be a particular person, they knew it from outside the song itself.

Besides singing it to them, she wrote it down for posterity. Frr. 55 (with the Aristides passage quoted by Voigt in the testimonia), 65. 9 f., and 147 show that she counted on posthumous fame on account of her music, no less than did Theognis (243–52) and Ibycus (S151. 46–8). Nine books of her poetry were preserved,[18] and a similar quantity of Alcaeus. Clearly these were not posthumous collections from oral tradition: Lesbos, considering itself outstanding in the musical world of the time (Sappho 106 *πέρροχος ὡς ὄτ' ἄοιδος ὁ Λέσβιος ἀλλοδάποισιν*), had taken to the habit of writing songs down and keeping them.

The original experience had been a real one. What is described is a genuine sensation, not love itself, not desire, but the sheer physical knockout reaction that can result from seeing across a room the object of an erotic preoccupation, so long as her response remains unknown. Once it was made into a song, however, it was freed from its connection with particular circumstances. Soon enough it ceased

[16] Cf. particularly Andromache's words in *Il.* 22. 451–3, followed by 466–7. A. Turyn gives a very full collection of comparative material in his *Studia Sapphica* (*Eos* Suppl. 6, 1929).

[17] It is hard to imagine that she was named in the last two lines. Edmonds thought that a name was concealed in *βροχέως* (cf. Milne, *Symb. Osl.* 13 (1934), 20); it is true that *ἔς σ' ἴδω βραχέα* is not the most natural of expressions, and similar names do occur.

[18] I do not mean to imply that she arranged them so.

to matter who the 'you' had been, who the man had been, when and where he and she had sat together.

FRAGMENT 2

The prayer-to-Aphrodite scheme is here used in a song of a different character. It concerns a group instead of an individual. The text is in a more difficult state than usual owing to the carelessness of the copyist, who frequently corrupts it by repeating or anticipating letter-sequences from nearby. The beginning is damaged:

|[316] οὐρανόθεν κατιοῦ[σα
1 δευρυμ[[μ]]ε̣κ̣ρητα̣ς̣ε̣π[ ]. .̣ ναῦϝον
ἄγνον, ὄππ[αι] χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος κτλ.

The first line fits neither metre nor dialect, and is perhaps to be taken as a paraphrase of a preceding stanza. For whatever reason it was written (if we admit that it was so written, and exclude Turyn's desperate καρανόθεν), δεῦρύ μ' ἐκ Κρήτας (Lobel, Lavagnini) makes an unsatisfactory interpretation of δευρυμ .̣ εκ̣ρητα̣ς̣. No scribe was so muddled as to put Crete in the sky. And why should Sappho imagine Aphrodite to be in Crete? Bowra (*Greek Lyric Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1961; hereafter *GLP*), 197) refers to Diod. 5. 77, where it is recorded that 'the Cretans' claimed that she was first worshipped there—yes, and most of the other gods too. It is true that from an early date sacred legends of Eleusis and Delphi looked to Crete as a place of origin,[19] and a fragment that may well be from Sappho herself gives a Cretan aition for a sacred dance.[20] But Aphrodite has no special connection with the island. Diodorus' Cretans themselves acknowledge Eryx, Cythera, and Paphos as her cult centres. In Sappho she is constantly Κύπρις, Κυπρογένηα. When she comes, she comes from the house of Zeus (1. 7), or

[19] Hes. *Th.* 971, *Hymn. Dem.* 123, *Ap.* 388–544; cf. also Eur. fr. 472, Orph. fr. 347 Bernabé; M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 2nd ed. (Lund 1950), 576–83.

[20] Lesb. inc. 16 (where Lobel–Page fail to show that the third verse is not quoted as the continuation of 1–2; certainly it fits well); cf. H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy*, 182.

perhaps from Cyprus (86).[21] When Sappho uses the 'whether you are at . . .' formula, it appears as ἤ σε Κύπρος καὶ Πάφος ἢ Πάνορμος (35). Conceivably the goddess is supposed to be temporarily in Crete because of some personal affair known to Sappho, but that would hardly be alluded to in a formal invocation, and there is still the difficulty of οὐρανόθεν. I think it is most likely that what was written was ειςρηταc (suggested by Schubart, *Hermes* 73 (1938), 299, cf. 303), representing a more correct ἐς βρήτας, 'for the appointed days' of a festival. Before ναυγον, the shadows on the photographs in *Annali della R. Scuola Normale di Pisa* [2]6 (1937) and *Phil.* 92 (1937), 118, resemble θε. The parallel of l. 5 and 25 then suggests ἐπ[όνελ]θε, 'return', come as you have come before.[22]

I[317] There follows a set-piece such as we have found Sappho using as the basis of a whole song. (But despite the closing of the ring in 13 ff., there is no reason to exclude further development.) It consists of an idyllic description of the holy place; we scarcely believe in such perfection in this world. Here, amid apples and roses, with a gentle spring breeze bringing the fragrance of incense from the altars,[23] and the babble of a cool stream filtering through the branches, lulled towards sleep,[24] Sappho and her companions are enjoying a picnic.[25] And here is Sappho asking for one thing more: the presence of Aphrodite, to compound their festive mood with her nectar poured in cups of gold:

> ἔνθα δὴ σὺ πόλλα μέλοισα Κύπρι[26]
> χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρως
> ὀμμεμίχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ οἰνοχόαισον.

[21] 2× – ∪∪ τίμαν Δίος ἐξ] αἰγιόχω λά[χοισα, 3]. Κυθέρη' εὐχομ[ένας ἄκουσον, 5 κλ]ῦθί μ' ἄρας αἴ π[οτα κἀτέρωτα, 6]ας προλίποισα Κ[ύπρον, 7]. πεδ' ἔμαν ἰώ[αν. The supplements in 5–6 are by E. Fraenkel, *CQ* 36 (1942), 56 = *Kleine Beiträge*, i. 245.

[22] Lobel, *Ἀλκαίου μέλη*, xliv, says that δεῦρο and δεῦτε are not found followed by a verb of motion in the Lesbians. Alc.(?) 401(b) has δεῦρο σύμπωθι, otherwise I can find no instance where it is certain that a verb of motion did not follow.

[23] Whoever the shrine belongs to, Aphrodite may well feel at home here; cf. *Od.* 8. 363 and *Hymn. Aphr.* 59 ἐς Πάφον· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις; Virg. *Aen.* 1. 416 f., 693 f., Ov. *Met.* 10. 644–8, Tac. *Hist.* 2. 3. On some typical features of the description cf. A. Turyn, *TAPA* 73 (1942), 312 ff.; R. Merkelbach, *Phil.* 101 (1957), 26 f. = *Hestia und Erigone* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1996), 111 f.

[24] κατάγρει (Bergk) is to be read. See E. Risch, *Mus. Helv.* 19 (1962), 197–201.

[25] 15 θαλίαισι. Athenaeus quotes 13–16, running on νέκταρ οἰνοχοοῦσα τούτοισι τοῖς ἑταίροις ἐμοῖς γε καὶ σοῖς, where the ἑταῖροι are his Deipnosophists, but a Sapphic phrase may be being adapted, e.g. ταῖς ἔμαισι . . . ἑταίραις.

[26] I offer this new reading, which seems compatible with the ink.

Whatever the sense of 96. 27, where again she is pouring nectar from a golden vessel, here the metaphor is related to the real setting. The θαλίαι are at hand; cups are being filled with wine. But these θαλίαι are as water that needs the admixture of Aphrodite's nectar. The cups into which she pours that divine mixture will be cups of gold; the spirit of love when it comes transfigures everything with heightened sensations.[27]

Springtime is love's special season.[28] Demetrius praises |[318] Sappho's singing περὶ ἐρώτων καὶ ἔαρος, *inter alia* (fr. 195; ἀέρος cod.), and frr. 71. 5–8, 90(a) iii 22, 135–6, possibly show signs of belonging to other descriptions of it. Love is also constantly associated with conviviality and with the Muses. Hesiod put it very neatly when he said that the Charites and Himeros dwell beside the Muses ἐν θαλίῃς (*Th.* 64 f.). Sappho at the beginning of her songs will invoke (beside the Muses, 127) Aphrodite (see on fr. 1), or Eros (54), or the Charites (53), or Charites and Muses together (103. 5, 128). Love had a social face; it obtained between individuals, but in the context of the group, and subject to a certain discretion, the feelings of members of the group could be spoken of and sung of within the group, finding acceptance and sympathy.

FRAGMENTS IN WHICH LOVER AND BELOVED ARE IDENTIFIED

The limits of this discretion begin to appear if we contrast with frr. 1 and 31 those fragments where both lover and beloved are identified. We observe that they fall into two classes. Either the affair belongs in the past, or Sappho's attitude towards it is hostile.

In fr. 16 Anactoria's removal has transmuted love into poignant memory. If the song ended at line 20, which is not certain, it was a perfect specimen of construction on the A–B–A pattern, the solid centrepiece being the evaluation of Helen's conduct in following her heart—a pragmatically sympathetic evaluation that strikes me as

[27] I follow more or less P. Von der Mühll, *Mus. Helv.* 3 (1946), 24 f. For the imaginative involvement of the goddess with the material scene cf. Alcman 58, with its remarkable distinction between Aphrodite and the playful Eros: it is he, not she, who has come down to dance on the flowers of the symposiast's wreath.

[28] Cf. e.g. Thgn. 1275–8. Alcaeus 327 makes Eros the son of Zephyrus and Iris. See also his fr. 296(b) with Page, *SA* 297 f.

typically feminine. (Contrast Alc. 42 and 283.) The transition in lines 11–15 may have run, 'Helen was led away by the power of love. For though the heart be proud and strong, love easily makes it its servant. Which puts me in mind now of Anactoria.'

In fr. 94 too a companion has gone away; she must have been named in the lost part of the text. Perhaps the situation was similar in 95, where after mentioning Gongula Sappho tells someone that she would rather be dead (cf. 94. 1): we hear of Gongula elsewhere as one who is absent (22, discussed below).[29] In fr. 49 it is 'I loved you, Atthis, long ago'.

In songs such as these Sappho entertained her current companions with candid expressions of her feelings towards past or absent ones. In others she referred to special feelings between the absent one and other members of the group. So in 22:

P.319	κ]έλομαι σ' ἀ[ϵίδην
10	Γο]γγύλαν, [Ἄβ]ανθι, λάβοισαν ἀ . [
11/12	πᾶ]κτιν, ἅς σϵ δηῦτϵ πόθος τ . [ ] ἀμφιπόταται,
	τὰν κάλαν· ἀ γὰρ κατάγωγις αὔτα[ς <σ'>
	ἐπτόαισ' ἴδοισαν, ἔγω δὲ χαίρω·
15/16	καὶ γὰρ αὔτα δή πο[τ'] ἐμέμφ[ϵτ' ἄγνα K]υπρογέν[ηα,
	ὤς ἄραμα[ι
	τοῦτο τῶ[πος[30]

Abanthis (if that was the name) sees a dress that belonged to Gongula, and is reminded how she misses her. Sappho is glad, for Aphrodite herself, on one of her well-known visits, criticized her for praying [for new loves and not thinking enough of the old] (?).

Another song in this category is seen in 96. Someone has gone to live in Sardis, but often her thoughts must turn to us (2), 'how we . . . and how she . . . you like a goddess, Arignota, and delighted in your singing most'.[31] Now it is the Lydian women she shines among, like

[29] ϵπαρθ in 95. 10 is supposed to represent the perfect passive infinitive of ἐπαίρω, which does not suit dialect, syntax, or sense. Read ο]ὐδὲν ἄδομ' ἔπϵρθα γᾶ[ς ἔοισα.

[30] τὰν κάλαν in 13 must pick up Γογγύλαν, being on an equal footing with the relative clause. 18 τῶπος (Edmonds): the same crasis in Alc. 66. 4, Theoc. 28. 24.

[31] It is harsh of Page (*SA* 89) to lump Arignota with the late Agallis as a 'figment created by despair out of corruption'. θέαι . . . ἀριγνώται might, I suppose, mean 'a goddess recognizable as such despite mortal guise' (cf. *Il.* 13. 71 f.), but it would be an oddly compressed expression, and an uncharacteristic modification of the formulaic 'like a goddess'. Arignotos and Arignote are attested as proper names, and a name

the moon bathing everything in her light and in a beautiful dew that makes the flowers grow in response.[32] But again, often she will remember her love of Atthis, and grieve.[33] I suggest that the next stanza, perhaps the last of the song, went like this:

κῆθι δ' ἔλθην ἄμμ' ἔλπις ἴσα. τὸ δ' οὐ
νῶιν γ' 'ἄ[κο]υστον· ὔμ[ην] πόλυς
γαρύει [. . .]αλοι̣π̣[. . . ὀ]ι̣ τὸ μέσσον.

|320 'And equally she hopes that we may go there. But you and I cannot hear that: the wedding-cry rings loud in between.'[34] The wedding will be that of the departed friend; it cuts her off from us, so that we can only speculate about her hopes and sorrows. Sappho makes the song of remembrance fully personal by bringing in both Arignota, the addressee, and Atthis.

We now come to the other class of poem in which lover and beloved are identified, that which refers to current liaisons and longings but in a hostile spirit. To Andromeda Sappho directs the unfriendly question (57. 1+3):

τίς δέ <τ'> ἀγροΐωτις †θέλγει νόον
οὐκ ἐπισταμένα τὰ βράκε' ἔλκην ἐπὶ τὼν σφύρων;

The girl is not named, but she is sufficiently specified.[35] Of Atthis we hear (130. 3–4)

may reasonably be recognized here (Wilamowitz). The position, accompanying σε and σᾶι (the latter a certain correction of σε), points to its being a vocative; it would be extraordinary to name here the woman in Sardis, who has been the subject from the beginning.

[32] In 7 read perhaps ὡς ὅτ', as in fr. 106. In 12, ἀ δ' ἐέρσα κάλα κέχυται, 'the dew falls lovely', I would prefer κἀδ δ' ἐέρσα, 'a lovely dew falls'. Dew as daughter of the Moon: Alcman 57.

[33] ἰμέρω, as written in the papyrus, should not be changed to the dative, which cannot stand for δι' ἰμέρου.

[34] γ' Theander, ἄ[κο]υστον Diehl. The dual is in general defunct in Lesbian except for ἄμφω / ἄμφοιν, but perhaps the pronoun survived till Sappho: I see no way of fitting in νῶν=νόον. γε with a personal pronoun: 77(a). 7, Alc. 368. 2. For my ὔμ[ην] cf. πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει. The π in the last line is given undotted by Schubart, dotted by Lobel in Σαπφοῦς μέλη, and disappears in *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*.

[35] The relationship between line 2 in Voigt, which comes from Maximus of Tyre, and lines 1 and 3, which come from Athenaeus/Eustathius, is conjectural. Sappho was scornful of ἀγροικία elsewhere too, see 110 test. (Demetr. *Eloc.* 167); but perhaps it was a touch of it that attracted her to Atthis ἀ ἄχαρις, as Andromeda to the lass with the ragged dress.

Ἄτθι, σοὶ δ' ἔμεθεν μὲν ἀπήχθετο
φροντίσδην, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀνδρομέδαν πότηι,

and of one Pleistodica that together with Gongula she will be called the 'partner' (*σύνδυγος*) of Gorgo (213; cf. Page, *SA* 145). There is some late evidence for lesbian couples being regarded as 'married';[36] but as Page says, we cannot be sure that Sappho's *σύνδυγος* has any such implication. She is hostile to Gorgo in 144, and Max. Tyr. 18. 9 brackets her with Andromeda as Sappho's rival. But in 22 and 95 Sappho has not turned against Gongula despite separation.

WHAT LOVING MEANT

One of the songs mentioned above, fr. 94, contains a recital of the pleasures which a friend parting from Sappho in tears can recall |[321] when she thinks of her. Garlands of many flowers, fine scented unguents; soft spreads where longing was stilled; visits to shrines and groves. There are reasons for thinking these typical elements in the life of Sappho's circle. Garlands and perfume were concomitants of group festivity. Perfume was applied to the breast by both men and women, not without aphrodisiac effect on others.[37] Fr. 81. 4–7 teaches that flower garlands are required if the Charites are to come:

σὺ δὲ στεφάνοις ὦ Δίκα πέρθεσθ' ἐράτοις φόβαισιν
ὄρπακας ἀνήτω †συναέρραισ' ἀπάλαισι χέρσιν·
εὐάνθεα γὰρ †πέλεται καὶ Χάριτες μάκαιραι
μᾶλλον προτέλη', ἀστεφανώτοισι δ' ἀπυστρέφονται.[38]

I have already spoken of Sappho's interest in the Charites, spirits of beauty and fun, and of their associations with revelry and love. They supervene upon a garlanded gathering in the same way as Aphrodite is called to supervene on the elysian picnic in fr. 2. The picnic fragment well illustrates the excursions recalled in 94. 24–7,

[36] Luc. *Dial. meretr.* 5. 3; Ptol. *Apotel.* 3. 15. 9 p. 172. 17 Boll–Boer.

[37] Archil. 48. 5 f., Semon. 16, Alc. 50, 362, Anacr. *PMG* 363. For Sappho's *βασιλη̃ωι* cf. Hippon. 104. 21 f., which confirms what Wilamowitz said in *SS* 51 n. 1.

[38] Neue's *προτέλη'* is favoured by *εὐάνθεα*, since the masc./fem. singular would be *εὐάνθην*.

κωὔτε τις [∪∪ οὔ]τε τι
ἶρον οὐδ' ὐ[∪ – ∪ –]
ἔπλετ' ὄππ[οθεν ἄμ]μες ἀπέσκομεν,

οὐκ ἄλσος . . .

What besides ἶρον and ἄλσος was mentioned in these lines is a matter for speculation. χόρος has been plausibly suggested for 24 (Schubart) or 27 (Lobel). γάμος would fit equally well in 24 (Bowra), and we know that Sappho had much to do with weddings. A wedding was an occasion for girls to stay up all night making merry (fr. 30, cf. 43; παν]νυχίσ[δ]ην also in 23. 13), and the Charites at least could not fail to appear among them. In 154 a poem apparently begins with narrative about a nocturnal open-air ceremony involving females, probably a dance.[39] Sappho somewhere prayed that a night should last twice as long, fr. 197.

|[322] What is meant by στρώμν[αν ἔ]πι μολθάκαν . . . ἐξίης πόθον? No doubt the phrase could have been used of someone achieving sexual fulfilment.[40] But one may well baulk at the idea that that was something likely to be seen at parties and recalled in tender songs of love and sadness at other parties, as one item together with flower garlands and jolly outings. To feel πόθος for someone means that you miss them, you wish they were there; there may or may not be a sexual component in your affection for them. For the πόθος to be assuaged, you may need to make love, you may need to shake hands and have a drink together, it depends who it is. Whoever it is, the one essential thing is reunion. It is easy to believe that Sappho's friends missed each other when they were apart, even for a few days, and felt the appeasement of this hunger as one of the principal pleasures of their gatherings. The στρῶμναι, and the position of the stanza at the end of the party section, suggest that it was in settling down to sleep in companionable proximity that they finally found contentment.[41] Compare fr. 126, δαύοισ' ἀπάλας ἑταίρας ἐν

[39] A Bacchic pannychis is attested at Methymna in Roman times, *IG* 12(2). 499. This says nothing for Sappho's time; but Dionysus was already ὠμηστής then (Alc. 129. 9), and in fr. 70 she may have referred to the daughters of Cadmus (8 ἀπὺ θύσ[θλ']? cf. *Il.* 6. 134; 9 Ἁρμονίας; 10 χόρον).

[40] Cf. Page, *SA* 79, adding Thgn. 1063 f. ξὺν ὁμήλικι πάννυχον εὕδειν, ἱμερτῶν ἔργων ἐξ ἔρον ἱέμενον.

[41] Lines 22–3 might be restored ἀπάλαν παρ[ὰ Σα]ρδίων ἐξίης πόθο[ν ἆδυν ὑπ' ἀ]ρνίδων, 'under soft fleeces from Sardis'.

στήθεσιν.[42] It may be that still more intimate things sometimes occurred in the dark hours. The point I am stressing is that Sappho is not telling us so in fr. 94.

The matter can be approached from another angle. The prayer to Aphrodite in fr. 1 presupposes a typical pattern of pursuer and pursued, of gifts proffered and accepted or declined, of pain and suffering for the unrewarded lover, who regards herself as unfairly treated (ἀδίκησι). The goddess's persuasion (πείθω) is instrumental in a campaign (σύμμαχος)[43] that has a specific end in view (τέλεσον). This kind of language is all familiar from the sphere of male love, and most of it can be paralleled from the Theognidea.[44] The I[323] Theognidean verses are of different dates and authors, and there must have been variety in the love affairs that inspired them, but there is no serious doubt that physical intercourse was their normal aim.[45] Yet the verses themselves hardly contain a more specific reference to this than do the fragments of Sappho; the most frank are 1063 f. (quoted above, n. 40) and 1335 f.,

ὄλβιος ὅστις ἐρῶν γυμνάζεται οἴκαδε ἐλθών,
†εὕδειν σὺν καλῶι παιδὶ πανημέριος,[46]

and they are both general reflections, not addressed to a loved one. All that the boys hear is αἴδεό με, δίδου χάριν, and such polite phrases; or assurances such as

οὔ τοι ἀνάγκη
τοῦτ' ἔρδειν ὅτι σοὶ μὴ καταθύμιον ἦι.[47]

[42] But not 46, ἔγω δ' ἐπὶ μολθάκαν | τύλαν κασπολέω μέλεα, which probably belongs to an 'on with the party' context, like Alc. 338, 346, 362. It may have followed some instruction like 'take the lyre and sing of X' (21. 11 f., 22. 9 f.).

[43] The metaphor of capturing a city is apparently used by Archil. 23. 17–20 (interpreted by F. R. Adrados, *Parola del Passato* 11 (1956), 40) and Thgn. 951.

[44] διώκειν / φεύγειν 1287, 1299, 1355 (Anacr. 417. 2); ἄλγεα 1295; πόνοι, μέριμναι 1323; ἀνίαι 1337 (λύσις ἐκ πόνων Anacr. 411); ἀδικία 1282, 1283. τελεῖν is technical, 953, 1355–6, 1370. For Sappho's φιλότης cf. 1241, 1296, 1313, 1359, 1361, 1379; for her μαινόλας θῦμος 1231, Anacr. 359, 428. In fr. 48 (attributed to her by conjecture), Thomas's ὃν δ' ἔψυξας for ὃν δ' ἐφύλαξας is confirmed by Thgn. 1273.

[45] For Solon (25) παιδοφιλεῖν means μηρῶν ἱμείρειν καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος. Aeschylus took Achilles' devotion to Patroclus in this sense, *Myrmidones* frr. 135–6.

[46] οἴκαδε δ' ἐλθὼν εὕδει Bekker, which would be no more open than δαύοισ' ἀπάλας ἑταίρας ἐν στήθεσι. I prefer simply to write εὕδων, as the solution of the paradox γυμνάζεται οἴκαδε ἐλθών: the lover's palaestra is at home.[53]

[47] 1237 f. Poor man, I am sure he meant it. 1287 ἀλλά σ' ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με is not meant sexually, of course; nor is the rotten rope of 1362 to be interpreted on the basis of Ar. *Vesp.* 1342–3.

It is hard to make a distinction between these pleas and Sappho fr. 23, where, after the words] ἔρωτος ἠ̣λ̣π̣[or ἠ̣λ̣γ̣[, the addressee is praised as being lovely as Helen's daughter, if not Helen herself; and then told

τόδε δ' ἴσ[θι,] τὰι σâι
– ∪ –] πάισαν κέ με τὰν μερίμναν
– ∪ –]λ̣αισ' ἀντιδ[. .]΄[.]ą̣θοις δὲ̣ [

'Know this: by your [... you] would [deliver] me from all my μέριμναι.'

Such comparisons cannot constitute a rigorous proof; but they indicate a fair parallelism of vocabulary and ideology between Sappho's 'I am in love' songs and the *Μοῦσα παιδική*. It is evident that she desires something more specific from her favourites than affectionate regard, and that they know what it is. But like the male lover, she avoids direct mention of it and is discreet about the identity |[324] of her current flame, though not about the intensity of her passion. In a group of people among whom this reserve was exercised, it is hardly probable that love was consummated before witnesses, or that fr. 94. 23 referred to anything quite so intimate.

ὀ̣λ̣ι̣σ̣β̣ . δοκο̣ι̣σ̣(ι) in 99 i 5 L.–P. [=Alc. 303A a 5 Voigt] (Page, *SA* 145), even if reading and authorship were sure (cf. A. W. Gomme, *JHS* 77 (1957), 260 f.), would tell us little. If the compound occurred with a sexual meaning, it must have been abusive. But *prima facie* the word agrees with χόρδαισι, which would mean that ὄλισβος was once a synonym of πλῆκτρον.[84]

THE NATURE OF THE GROUP

I have spoken non-committally of Sappho's 'group' or 'circle'. We certainly have an impression of something more than a set of friends and acquaintances dropping in from time to time, of something with a kind of surface tension; but we find no collective name for it. θίασος, for example, which some modern writers readily apply, does not occur either in Sappho or in Alcaeus. The word Sappho does use is ἔταιραι: 160 τάδε νῦν ἑταίραις ταὶς ἔμαις τέρπνα κάλως ἀείσω, and perhaps 2. 15 ὀμμεμίχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ οἰνοχόαισον (τούτοισι τοῖς ἑταίροις ἐμοῖς γε καὶ

σοῖς).[48] The word connotes a close bond between individuals. It covers the relationship in which one sleeps on the other's bosom (126), and the former relationship of Leto and Niobe (142). It is closely associated with φιλία and πίστις. Among men, community of political interests was liable to determine who one's ἑταῖροι were, especially in critical times. Hence it might happen that the group was formally bonded and delimited by oaths of secrecy or mutual support. Alcaeus 129. 14–20 illustrates the phenomenon, using the term οἱ ἕταιροι; ἑταιρ(ε)ία appears in the fifth century. Women might to some extent be ruled by the alignments of their menfolk (Sappho 71. 3 mentions 'Penthilean women', whose φιλότης someone has opted for), but in general they had other interests.

When Plato needs to refer to a class of women of homosexual inclination he refers to αἱ ἑταιρίστριαι (*Symp.* 191e). It is not clear whether this was already synonymous with τριβάδες, but it was so later.[49] It started as the feminine agent noun of ἑταιρίζομαι, 'be a ἑταῖρος or ἑταίρα in a systematic way', in other words, participate |[325] in a ἑταιρεία. Women's ἑταιρεῖαι, then, became notorious for homosexual love. It does not follow that that was their *raison d'être*, and in the case of Sappho's group it is apparent that they had other business more useful to society at large and more likely to enjoy its support: music and song, for public as well as private performance. It can only have been of the Muses that Sappho said (32) αἴ με τιμίαν ἐπόησαν ἔργα τά σφα δόισαι. She is confident that her memory will survive her (147, cf. 65. 8–10), by contrast with the rich but uncultivated dame who will be forgotten because she has no share in the roses from Pieria (55).[50] Her house is a μοισοπόλων δόμος (150); the word seems to be modelled on νηοπόλος, suggesting 'official servant at the Muses' shrine'.[51] Her companions too are singers. Someone else is invited to take the lyre and sing in frr. 21 and 22. The woman remembered in 96 'used to delight in your

[48] Cf. p. 38 with n. 25.

[49] Luc. *Dial. meretr.* 5. 2, cf. Synes. *Opusc.* pp. 92. 23 and 104. 15 Terzaghi; Hesych., Phot., *Suda* s.v.

[50] The roses can be understood as the flowers showered on a victor or other hero of the hour; cf. A. Hug, *RE* xx. 1025 s.v. Φυλλοβολία.

[51] I do not know why Page finds δόμωι an improbable correction of οἰκίαι (*SA* 132 n. 1); cf. fr. 55. 3. Lobel–Page, who usually withhold the contexts of quotations, here give a misleading version of the context. Maximus does not say that Sappho, like Socrates, was dying when she forbade lamentation, nor can it safely be inferred from his argument.

singing more than anyone's, Arignota'. Someone is praised in 56 as possessing more skill—at poesy, probably—than any girl is likely to have again. (A sense of hyperbole may have been allayed by the conventional form of expression, cf. 113.) Cf. also 153 *πάρθενον ἀδύφωνον*, and without context 24(d). 6 *λ]επτοφών*[, 71. 5–6 *μέλ[ος τι γλύκερον* . [. . .]*α μελλιχόφων*[-, 185 *μελίφων(οι)*. The last is attested as a Sapphic word by Philostratus, *Imag.* 2. 1. He is applying it to a chorus of girls, *ἁπαλαὶ κόραι*, represented as hymning Aphrodite in myrtle groves under the direction of a *διδάσκαλος σοφὴ καὶ οὐδὲ ἔξωρος· ἐφιζάνει γάρ τις ὥρα καὶ ῥυτίδι πρώτηι, γήρως μὲν τὸ ὑπόσεμνον ἕλκουσα, τούτωι δ' αὖ κεραννῦσα τὸ σωιζόμενον τῆς ἀκμῆς*. The altar is provided with frankincense, cinnamon, and myrrh, *δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Σαπφοῦς τι ἀναπνεῖν*. The scene seems to draw something from fr. 2, and the girls treading the soft grass with bare feet may be an echo of Lesb. inc. 16. The passage certainly reflects one ancient conception of Sappho; cf. Anon. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 189. 1–4:

> *ἔλθετε πρὸς τέμενος ταυρώπιδος ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης*
> *Λεσβίδες, ἁβρὰ ποδῶν βήμαθ' ἑλισσόμεναι·*
> *ἔνθα καλὸν στήσασθε θεῆι χορόν· ὔμμι δ' ἀπάρξει*
> *Σαπφὼ χρυσείην χερσὶν ἔχουσα λύρην.*

|[326] In *Vit. Apoll.* 1. 30 Philostratus speaks of *ὁμιλήτριαι* ('disciples', cf. 1. 16), and of a Pamphylian lady contemporary with Sappho who had a similar circle and who composed love poetry and cult hymns in imitation of Sappho's. The *Suda* (*σ* 107) speaks of Sappho's *μαθήτριαι*, naming 'Anagora' (*sc.* Anactoria), Gongyla, and Euneika. Besides these, it says, she had three *ἑταῖραι* and *φίλαι*, Atthis, Telesippa, and Megara, who came from Miletus, Colophon, and Salamis respectively. If this is true, it need not mean that they came specially to associate with Sappho: women did move from town to town for one reason or another.[52]

There is indeed a fragment in which Sappho is contrasting herself, as too old for dancing, with a young chorus:

[52] Cf. 96, 101. In the latter fragment I suggest reading *χερρόμακτρα δὲ κἄγγονα πορφύρα καταΰτμενα* (cf. 44. 8f. *κἄμματα πορφύρ[α] καταΰτ[με]να*). **ἔγγονον*=a knee-length dress, cf. *ἐπιγονατίς*, *προγόνιον* (S. Dow and R. F. Healey, *A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis* (Cambridge, Mass. 1965), 24–7); *καταΰτμενος*=light enough to lift with the breeze, *κατ' ἀϋτμένας*, an ephemeral coinage of the fashion world.

ἔμοι δ' ἄπαλον πρίν] ποτ' [ἔ]οντα χρόα γῆρας ἤδη
ἐπέλλαβε, λεῦκαι δ' ἐγ]ένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν·
βάρυς δέ μ' ὁ [θ]ῦμος πεπόηται, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι,
τὰ δή ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι.
τὰ <μὲν> στεναχίσδω θαμέως· ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποείην;[53]

This is like what Antigonus of Carystus records about Alcman (*PMGF* 26): φησὶν γὰρ ἀσθενὴς ὢν διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ τοῖς χοροῖς οὐ δυνάμενος συμπεριφέρεσθαι οὐδὲ τῆι τῶν παρθένων ὀρχήσει·

οὔ μ' ἔτι, παρθενικαὶ μελιγάρυες ἱαροφώνοι,
γυῖα φέρην δύναται· βάλε δὴ βάλε κηρύλος εἴην, κτλ.

Latte went so far as to write, apropos of Sappho's circle, 'Wir haben jetzt die Partheneia Alkmans und Pindars. Es sollte deutlich sein, daß der Vortrag von Liedern bei rituellen Gelegenheiten der wesentliche Zweck dieser Thiasoi war. Sappho steht zu den Mädchen zunächst nicht anders als Alkman, sie ist Chormeisterin und verfaßt ihnen die Lieder, die sie vortragen.'[54] Of course, this I[327] does not suit the bulk of her poetry, which must have been sung by her in her own person. But it suits the Epithalamia, cf. frr. 30; 27. 8; 44. 25 f. And it suits the cult song or songs about Adonis (140, 168), which, if 140 is rightly assigned to Sappho, involved dialogue between a chorus or chorus-leader and an actress impersonating Aphrodite.[55] Phaon (211) seems to have been either a name of Adonis or a parallel figure.[56] Dioscorides, *Epigr.* 18. 7–8 Gow–Page (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 407), represents Sappho as lamenting for Adonis with Aphrodite in a sacred grove. There are indications that the prayer to Hera in fr. 17

[53] 58. 13–17 [which can now be quoted in fuller form than in 1970; see below, Chapter 5]. Cf. 21. 3 ὄλοφυν, 4 τρομέροις, 6] χρόα γῆρας ἤδη, 7]ν ἀμφιβάσκει.

[54] *GGA* 207 (1953), 36 = *Kl. Schr.* 720. Merkelbach, *Phil.* 101 (1957), 1 f. = *Hestia und Erigone* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1996), 87 f., sees women's associations as a normal feature of early societies and sets Sappho's circle against this background. This is certainly suggestive. But generalization about such societies must be built upon observation of particular cases, and I may limit myself to the direct evidence of Sappho's poetry.

[55] Dialogue appears also in 114 (a bride and her virginity) and 137 (allegedly Sappho and Alcaeus, but that may be popular fancy bringing the two famous Lesbian singers face to face; cf. Wilamowitz, *SS* 41; Bowra, *GLP* 225 f.). In these two cases, for all we know, convention may have allowed a single singer to take both parts.

[56] Cf. Wilamowitz, *SS* 33–9 (but stars should be left out of it); Bowra, *GLP* 213 f.; A. Lesky, *Geschichte d. griech. Literatur*, 3rd ed. (Bern–Munich 1971), 163 f.

was ceremonial; *νῦν . . . καττὸ πάλ[αιον]* (11 f.) implies an established ritual, the poem ends with a request for an arrival, and the space in 20 allows only *[ἦ]ρ' ἀπίκε[σθαι]*. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 189 (quoted above) shows that Hera's precinct was known from Sappho as the scene of ritual song and dance, and she no doubt attended the annual beauty contests there, which were associated with an *ἴρα ὀλολύγα γυναίκων*.[57]

So she had good reason to be taking her friends to shrines and groves. She was first and foremost a servant of the Muses, this was the common interest that united her *ἑταιραι*. In the *Epistle to Phaon*, a poem steeped in biographical lore, Ovid (if it is Ovid) represents it as being her musical accomplishments that have attracted to her the girls she has become notorious by loving.[58] We have heard her spurning the *ἀπαίδευτος γυνή*. Companionship sustained by common business provided the conditions in which love takes root. We can see that the qualities that Sappho loved were not always those which are obvious on a superficial acquaintance. She loved Atthis although she appeared *ἄχαρις* (49), and defends herself for not prizing visual beauty the most highly (50). *κῆνο κάλλιστον, ὄττω τις ἔραται* (16. 3–4). Fr. 41 seems to mean 'I will not give up my choice for your beauty'. (Cf. Solon 15.) In fr. 82 Dika is said to be prettier than Gurinno, but she may have come off worse in the sequel, for in a commentary fragment (90(a) iii 15 ff.) mention of Gurinno is followed by discussion l[328] of *κάλλος* versus *ἀρετή*. If 96. 22–3 are restored *ἐξίσωσθ' αἰ σὺ <μὴ> [π]ροσέχησθ' ἀ[δω]νίδηον*, the tenor might be 'X is not of course as beautiful as a goddess—few mortals are, unless they have Adonis' salve to hand—but Aphrodite and Peitho have made her strangely attractive'. (Cf. Ibycus *PMGF* 288.)

A singer whose mind is on love will sing of love, past, present, or possible. Singing of love and hearing it sung of increases the preoccupation with it, besides providing a medium of communication between potential or actual lovers. Since verbal exchange is an important part of amatory activity, love in a group such as Sappho's was bound to assume a poetic style: to be understood as the work of the Cyprian goddess and her attendants Eros and Peitho; to be lit

[57] Alc. 130. 34 f.; sch. D *Il.* 9. 129; Page, *SA* 168.

[58] *Her.* 15. 201–3. The name Cydro, attested in line 17 of the poem, might be recognized in fr. 19. 11 κ)ά̣πικυδ[.

by comparisons drawn from legend (Helen) or nature (the beauty of the moon, 34, 96. 8; the fury of the wind, 47); to avoid coarseness. Perhaps it even came to seem an integral part of the poetic life. But Aphrodite came to Sappho's house behind the Muses and Charites. The emphasis is not quite right in Byron's 'loved and sung': she sang and loved.

THE SHAPE OF A LIFE

She is said to have been orphaned at the age of six (Ov. *Her.* 15. 61), which, if true, may be relevant to her enduring need for affection. But she was not separated from her brothers, and she was able to enjoy a good musical training. She acquired a husband, though he is conspicuous by his absence in the fragments (by contrast with her daughter and two brothers),[59] and may have died or deserted at an early stage: she seems to hold the purse-strings in fr. 98, and the house appears as a μοισοπόλων δόμος, i.e. hers, not that of the Andrian magnate Cercylas.[60]

Men are not prominent in Sappho at all. In the Epithalamia they are addressed with admiration or mockery as custom requires, but we learn little about real feelings. The lover Phaon is a myth. There are, however, one or two fragments where a male friend appears to be addressed. Fr. 121,

|[329]

ἀλλ' ἔων φίλος ἄρνυσο
λέχος ἄμμι νεώτερον·
οὐ γὰρ τλάσομ' ἔγω συνοί-
κην ἔοισα γεραιτέρα,[61]

contains a rejection of a younger man who has been living with the speaker or wants to—'the speaker', because the verses may belong to

[59] Frr. 5, 15, 98, 132, 203, 254; P. Oxy. 2506 fr. 48 ii 6 ff.? There is said to have been a third brother: P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 1. 7, 2506 fr. 48 iii 41?, *Suda*.

[60] So Wilamowitz, *SS* 24, who takes the name to be an invention. (It occurs only in the *Suda*; Ovid (61–70) and P. Oxy. 1800 omit the husband.) But he notes that Sappho's exile would be more easily understood if she was sharing a husband's lot.

[61] I transpose ἄρνυσο with ἄμμι *metri gratia*. ἔων φίλος, like φίλος in 138, amounts to 'I pray you'; cf. *Glotta* 44 (1967), 139–44. τ' (τοι) might be added after συνοίκην (Sitzler).

reported speech, or a dramatic monody.[62] In the dialogue ascribed to Alcaeus and Sappho, 137, a much more tentative opening is primly squashed by the lady: clearly not a private but a public exchange, designed to be appreciated by a wider audience. The Alcaic stanza, unusual in Sappho, seems to be in use again in 138,

> – στᾶθί μ' ἄντα – ∪∪ – φίλος,
> καὶ τὰν ἐπ' ὄσσοις ὀμπέτασον χάριν,[63]

a more affectionate address, directed, according to Athenaeus, πρὸς τὸν ὑπερβαλλόντως θαυμαζόμενον τὴν μορφὴν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενον; I suppose we cannot exclude a brother. The subject of love between the sexes is not ignored; a bridegroom is congratulated on having got the girl he prayed for (112); but there is no firm evidence that Sappho ever sang of love on her own part for the father of Cleis or any other man.

The ancients, like the moderns, assume in general that a mature person—so long as he is not a tyrant, or otherwise raised by fortune above the ordinary man's lot—is either homosexual or heterosexual by inclination. Then as now, no doubt, there were those who had in them something of both. Anyone who chooses may leave open the possibility that Sappho was such a person. What is hard to deny is that her dominant feelings were homosexual. Any who find it distressing must surely allow that her outlook on life was far more attractive than that of the heterosexual Hipponax, with his elaborate farces of sadistic, copulatory, and excretory fantasy. Sex was for her the private expression of a total romantic love that had its place in |[330] the context of semi-public and public gaiety and song. In this gaiety and love lay her abiding happiness. The sight of the young dancers whom she is too old to join (58 again) puts her in mind of Tithonus, aging indefinitely before his eternally young consort; but the song ends on a glad note:[s5] 'my liking is for what is graceful; [because of] this it is love that shows me even the brightness of the sun, and what to hold fair'. (κῆνο κάλλιστον, ὄττω τις ἔραται.) Even in the face

[62] So perhaps 102 γλύκηα μᾶτερ οὔτοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἶστον; Alc. 10; Anacr. 385; K. J. Dover in *Archiloque* (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 10, Vandœuvres-Genève 1964), 202, 206–12.

[63] I adopt Fick's μ' ἄντα for κἄντα, cf. Thgn. 1365 f. ὦ παίδων κάλλιστε καὶ ἱμεροέστατε πάντων,| στῆθ' αὐτοῦ καί μου παῦρ' ἐπάκουσον ἔπη. But there are other possibilities, e.g. *F*' ἄντα (a bridegroom invited to face the bride).

of death (150) she forbids lamentation in the house of music: οὐκ ἄμμι τάδε πρέποι.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. Cf. J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* i. 61 = *Lectures on Syntax*, trans. David Langslow (Oxford 2009), 85, 'Comparable with this is Pindar's tendency to use the future of verbs that express an intention aimed at action in future time, even if the intention lies in present time; he will use for example ἐθελήσω to mean "I wish" (*Olymp.* 7. 20), or ἐγγυάσομαι for "I pledge" (*Olymp.* 11. 16).'
2. Such recitals of physical symptoms are commonplace in Semitic poetry in contexts other than love; perhaps they occurred in love poetry too. See *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 527 f.
3. Cf. Eupolis fr. 171. 2 K.–A. οὐκ οἶκαδ' ἐλθὼν τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυμνάσεις δάμαρτα; Aesch. *Ag.* 1206 παλαιστής; Ar. *Pax* 894–8; Paul. Sil. *Anth. Pal.* 5. 259. 5 παννυχίησιν ὁμιλήσασα παλαίστραις; *SGEI* 167.
4. The *Suda* credits Sappho with the invention of the plectrum. For a fuller discussion of Greek plectra and the Sappho fragment see *ZPE* 80 (1990), 1–2.
5. It has now become clear that 58. 23–6, from which the quotation comes, were not the ending of the Tithonus poem but the beginning of a new one. See below, Chapter 5.

5

The New Sappho

In *ZPE* 147 (2004), 1–8, Michael Gronewald and Robert Daniel published two early Ptolemaic fragments of Sappho, from successive columns of a roll, recovered from mummy cartonnage (P. Köln inv. 21351).[1] In *ZPE* 149 (2004), 1–4, they report the identification of another piece, inv. 21376, which joins the second of the two originally announced. The new fragments are of great interest. This is the oldest known papyrus of Sappho; some of the letter forms are still epigraphic. It is a noteworthy feature that stanzas are already marked off by paragraphoi. The poems are not arranged in the same order as in P. Oxy. 1787 (third century CE), which no doubt represents the standard Alexandrian edition. The Oxyrhynchus papyrus contained a succession of poems that appear to be in the same metre, hagesichoreans with choriambic expansion, probably to be assigned to Book 4 of the standard edition. In the remains of the Cologne papyrus we find two successive poems in this metre, the second being one already known in part from the Oxyrhynchus papyrus (but there with different poems preceding and following). These two poems were followed by a third with similarly long lines, but copied in a different hand and, as we learn from the newly reported additional fragment, composed in a different metre. If I understand rightly, the beginnings of thirteen lines are preserved, but we are not yet allowed to read more than the first line, which goes:

ψιθυροπλόκε δολιόμυθ . . [.]. . υτ̣ο̣υ̣ρ̣α̣[

ZPE 151 (2005), 1–9.

[1] Digitized images are accessible at http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Verstreutepub/21351_ZPE147.html.

The editors report ψιθυροπλοκε δολιε̣[from the newly found piece and]μυθ from the piece it abuts, but I have no doubt that they are to be put together as δολιο̣|μυθ(ε).

I have not accented the verse as Lesbian, because it is very unlikely that this is by Sappho. No known Lesbian metre admits sequences of more than two short syllables, and we do know rather a lot of Lesbian metres, all of which are constructed on a principle which would exclude such a sequence of words as ψιθυροπλόκε δολιόμυθε. Metre apart, the phrase would be suitable enough in a Sapphic address to Eros, whom she somewhere described as μυθόπλοκος (fr. 188), or Aphrodite, who is δολόπλοκος (1. 2, cf. Lesb. inc. 42. 7). We await with eager interest the publication of the following lines in a volume of the P. Köln series. [Gronewald and Daniel have now edited it as P. Köln 430 in *Kölner Papyri* 11 (Paderborn 2007).] Meanwhile we can exercise ourselves with the three poems of Sappho represented on the new papyrus [P. Köln 429].

1. POSTHUMOUS HONOUR FOR SAPPHO

The first eight lines in the papyrus are new. Here is an initial reading. At one or two points I have ventured to modify the editors' reading on the basis of the photograph.

. .
]. ου̣[
]. υχ̣. . [
]. νῦν θ̣αλ[ί]α̣ π̣α̣[
]. ν̣έρθε δὲ γᾶς πε̣. [. . .]. .
]. ν̣ ἔχο̣ι̣σαν γέρας ὠς̣ [ἔ]ο̣ικε̣ν̣
]ζ̣οῖεν̣, ὡς νῦν ἐπὶ γᾶς ἔοισαν
] λιγύ̣ρ̣αν [α]ἴ̣ κεν ἔλοισα πᾶκτιν
χε]λύ̣ν̣ν̣αν̣. αλαμοις ἀείδω. ⊗

|[2] The starts of the verses are missing, but from what remains it looks as if the metre is the same as in the poem that follows: × – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – (hag[2c]). It would be nice if the line-beginnings could be identified among the many fragments in this metre in P. Oxy. 1787, but so far as I can see they cannot be. I was seduced for a few days by the idea that they were to be recognized in P. Oxy. 1787 fr. 4 = fr. 65 Voigt, because lines 8–10 of that fragment,

ὅ]σσοις φαέθων [
πάντᾱι κλέος [
καί σ' ἐνν Ἀχέρ[οντ

seemed to show a series of semantic links with P. Köln 4–6:

P. Oxy.		P. Köln
all those that the sun (looks upon)	[	] but below the earth
fame everywhere	[	] appropriate honour
in the underworld	[	] as now on earth.

In the Oxyrhynchus fragment the subject is Sappho, at least from 5 to 10, and in the Cologne fragment in 5–6 it is a woman who receives due honour, while 7–8 appear to refer to Sappho's music and song. I was able (with some difficulty) to devise supplements capable of linking the two fragments in a single text. But the combination appears to be ruled out by the existence of a small scrap of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus which Lobel published in his *Σαπφοῦς μέλη* (Oxford 1925), 31, and identified as having stood to the right of fr. 65. 6–8. It is fr. 66c Voigt. I have examined it under the microscope and can confirm the placing. There is a prominent fibre that is close to the base of the first letters in the line and gradually diverges from the line of writing as the verse proceeds. To judge by its distance from the lettering in fr. 66c it should belong at the end of the verse, and this seems to be confirmed by an apparent space after the last letter in the first of the three lines. Fr. 65. 6–8 thus appear in a form that cannot be reconciled with P. Köln 2–4:

Κύπρω{ι} β̣[α]σίλ[η' – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –]μνᾱ [
καί τοι μέγα δ̣ [ ]ι̣κατεν̣[
ὅ]σσοις φαέθων [ ]α̣ς̣κ[

In line 7 Lobel read the last letter as γ, 'sive π[, ν[, λ[', but to me ν[looks probable, with κ[also possible. In line 8 he read]κ̣εκ[. Lines 5–6 might now be restored e.g.

5 Ψάπφοι, σὲ φίλ[ησ' ἔξοχα καλλίθρονος Ἀφροδίτα,]
Κύπρω β̣[α]σίλ[η' ἐνναλίας ὀλβοδότερρα σέ]μνα

(cf. 112. 5 τετίμακ' ἔξοχά σ' Ἀφροδίτα), and line 8 as

ὅ]σσοις φαέθων [Ἄελιος φέγγεσιν ἀμφιβ]ά̣ς̣κ[ει.

After this diversion I come back to the new Cologne fragment. In lines 3–4 (which should go together, if the poem was in two-line

stanzas) there appears to be an opposition between present festivity (*νῦν θαλία*) and the future existence in Hades (*νέρθε δὲ γᾶς*). This impression is reinforced in 6, *ὡς νῦν ἐπὶ γᾶς ἔοισαν*. The lines refer to a particular woman who will receive her fitting *γέρας* in the afterlife and continue to be honoured or held in mind in the same way as she is now in her lifetime. This might be one of Sappho's musical friends, but the likelihood is surely that it is Sappho herself, especially as it is her own singing that is the subject of the two closing lines. In fr. 55 she scornfully tells a well-off but unpoetic lady that there will be no remembrance of her after death, *οὐ γὰρ πεδέχηις βρόδων | τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας, ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κἀν Ἀΐδα δόμωι | φοιτάσηις πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα*. The implication is that she herself will enjoy a much better fate. Aristides is probably alluding to other lines l^3 from the same poem when he writes (Or. 28. 51) *οἶμαι δέ σε καὶ Σαπφοῦς ἀκηκοέναι πρός τινας* (*τινα* Seidler) *τῶν εὐδαιμόνων δοκουσῶν εἶναι γυναικῶν μεγαλαυχουμένης καὶ λεγούσης ὡς αὐτὴν αἱ Μοῦσαι τῶι ὄντι ὀλβίαν τε καὶ ζηλωτὴν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ὡς οὐδ' ἀποθανούσης ἔσται λήθη*. We have other fragments (32, 147) in which Sappho preens herself on her poetic stature and expresses confidence that she will be remembered. Fragment 65, discussed above, even if it cannot be joined to our new fragment, provides the nearest parallel. The speaker of 65. 5ff., perhaps a supernatural dream-visitant (cf. 63, 134), tells Sappho that she is a favourite of Aphrodite, and then in successive lines we see 'and to you great . . .', 'all those that the sun looks upon', 'fame on all sides', 'and in Acheron you . . .'.

Let us focus on the detail of the new piece. In line 3 *θ̣αλ[ί]ᾳ*, if rightly read, will refer to the festivity of Sappho and her companions; cf. fr. 2. 15. Then perhaps *π̣ᾳ̣[ρέστω* or *π̣ᾷ̣[ρεστι* or *π̣ᾲ̣[ρ ἄμμι*. In line 4 *γᾶς* is clearly followed by *πε*, and then by an upright; possibly something like *περ̣[ίσχοι* (*περ-ίσχοι*), 'may . . . surround me'. In 5 *γέρας* was probably strengthened by an epithet, its termination represented by the letters before *ἔχοισαν*; e.g. *Μοίσει]ον*.

In 6 before *οιεν* there appears a substantial trace, a broad convex base that I think must have belonged either to *ζ* or *ξ*. The first is much the more likely in a present-stem verb. A plausible sense for the verse and for its coherence with the two following is suggested in the supplemented text below.

In 8 Gronewald–Daniel read *̣αλαμοις* and interpret as *κ̣άλα, Μοῖσ'*, rightly seeing that *καλάμοις(')* would not be appropriate.

But this last-minute apostrophe of the Muse does not look natural. Elsewhere in Sappho (six times) the Muses are always plural. On the photograph I can see nothing at all of the letter before αλαμοις, and if θαλάμοισ' is a possible reading I should prefer it.

Here is a conjectural restored text of lines 3–8.

] νῦν θαλ[ί]α̣ π̣α̣[ρέστω
]. ν̣έρθε δὲ γᾶς πε̣ρ̣[ίσχ]ο̣ι
κλέος μέγα Μοίσει]ον ἔχο̣ισαν γέρας ὡς [ἔ]ο̣ικε̣ν̣,
πάντᾱι δέ με θαυμά]ζοισεν, ὡς νῦν ἐπὶ γᾶς ἔοισαν
κάλεισι χελίδω] λιγύ̣ραν, [α]ἴ̣ κεν ἔλοισα πᾶκτιν
ἢ βάρβιτον ἢ τάνδε χε]λύ̣ν̣ν̣αν̣ θαλάμοις' ἀείδω. ⊗

2. THÈ TITHONUS POEM

P. Oxy. 1787 fr. 1 gave us 26 or 27 line-ends,[2] which became fr. $\overline{\delta}$ 1 in Lobel's *Σαπφοῦς μέλη* and fr. 58 in the editions of Lobel–Page (*Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, Oxford 1955) and E.-M. Voigt (*Sappho et Alcaeus*, Amsterdam 1971). Lines 25–6 overlap with the quotation-fragment ἔγω δὲ φίλημμ' ἀβροσύναν ... καί μοι τὸ λάμπρον †ἔρος ἀελίω† καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχε (79 Bergk).

It was suspected that a new poem began at line 11 (Gallavotti) or 13 (Lobel, Snell). Lobel, moreover, printed a coronis before line 26, marking it as the end of a poem, and detached the following remnants as a separate fragment ($\overline{\delta}$ 2=59 L.–P. and V.). He had no manuscript authority for this, and in Lobel–Page the coronis is put behind a bracket to indicate its conjectural nature. But it remained a consensus that the poem did end there, with the quotation-fragment. Max Treu in his Tusculum edition (*Sappho*, 4th ed., Munich 1968) put 'explicit' after the Greek text of 26 and 'Schluß des Liedes' after its translation. Voigt printed ⊗ after line 26 and again before her fr. 59. Vincenzo Di Benedetto in his important article on fr. 58 in *QUCC* 19 (1985), 145–63, noted that the coronis was Lobel's invention, but agreed that the poem ended at 26: 'sono solo raggioni di contenuto e soprattutto il tono conclusivo dei vv. 25–26 ... che

[2] Hunt counted 26, reading]ι̣δα[in the first line with ¯ over the alpha; Lobel interpreted it as ᾱ crossed by the end of an exceptionally long descender from the preceding line, and he renumbered the verses accordingly. I follow his numeration less from conviction than for convenience, as it has been perpetuated in Lobel–Page and Voigt.

inducono a ritenere che il carme finisse con il v. 26: un'ipotesi che anch'io ritengo giusta, anche se è doveroso avvertire che essa non ha conferma paleografica' (op. cit., 152).

|[4] In the Cologne papyrus lines 11–22 of fr. 58 now appear with a different poem preceding and a different one following. This confirms that Gallavotti was right in seeing line 11 as the start of a poem. By the same token it shows that everyone was wrong in attaching 23–6 to the preceding lines. Gronewald and Daniel in their first paper (*ZPE* 147. 2) decline to draw this conclusion, and continue to maintain that 23–6 represent the end of the poem; they seem still to believe in Lobel's naughty coronis. Two other scholars, however, have now accepted the consequences of the new evidence: Di Benedetto, and Wolfgang Luppe, both in *ZPE* 149 (5–6 and 7–9). Luppe observes that there is nothing in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus to indicate that a new poem began at 27.[3] We must now assume that 11–22 represent a complete, twelve-line poem, and that 23–6+fr. 59 are the beginning of another.

With the addition of the newest fragment the poem in 11–22 is indeed nearly complete, in *Wortlaut* as well as in *Versbestand*. Only a little restoration is necessary in the first four lines, of which the beginnings are missing:

11 × – ∪ ∪ *Μοίσαν ἰ]ο̣κ[ό]λ̣πων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες,*
× – ∪ ∪ – *τὰ]μ̣ φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν·*
× – ∪ ∪ – –] *π̣οτ̣' [ἔ]ο̣ντα χρόα γῆρας ἤδη*
14 × – ∪ ∪ , *λεῦκαι δ' ἐγ]ένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν.*

Μοίσαν ἰ]ο̣κ[ό]λ̣πων in 11 was restored by Stiebitz; *τὰ]μ* in 12 by Gronewald–Daniel; *λεῦκαι* in 14 by Hunt, who compared Soph. *Ant.* 1092 f.; *δ'* (instead of Hunt's *τ'*) by Lobel.

παῖδες is almost certainly vocative, as in Lesb. inc. 18. The two couplets clearly contained an opposition between the happy young girls, with their music and song, and Sappho herself, who is growing old and no longer able to join in the dancing. Di Benedetto (*ZPE* 149. 5) has seen that *ἔμοι δέ* is called for in 13. He proposes *γεραίρετε* and *χορεύσατε κὰτ τὰ]ν* in 11–12. I would prefer to have the antithesis pointed up by contrasting pronouns, with *ὔμμες* in 11.

[3] Di Benedetto seems to have forgotten this (although he pointed it out in 1985), as he finds it necessary to defend the possibility of 23–6 as a poem complete in four lines. He does so, strangely, by referring to fr. 55, which is obviously not a self-contained poem.

The two short syllables needed between ὔμμες and Μοίσαν will be most easily supplied by a preposition such as πεδά. The verb, whether indicative or imperative, must then have stood at the beginning of 12; e.g. σπουδάσδετε καὶ τὰ]μ̣ φιλάοιδον κτλ.

In 13 Di Benedetto's ἔμοι δ' ἄπαλον πρίν] ποτ' is perfect. In 14 he suggests διώλεσε. That seems too strong a word. I should expect one meaning 'seized, occupied' (cf. 21 ἔμαρψε): perhaps κατέσκεθε (cf. Alc. 112. 12 μοῖρα κατέσκ[εθε) or, as that looks rather long for the space, ἐπέλλαβε.

The remaining eight lines of the poem present two textual problems. In 17 the new papyrus gives the whole line as ταcτεναχιζωθαμεωcαλλατικεμποειην. The metre shows that one of the first two syllables is missing. Gronewald–Daniel suggest <ταῦ>τα or ὂν δὲ (=ἀνὰ δὲ). Rather τὰ <μὲν>.

The more serious difficulty arises in 20, where the editors read ἔρωι δ̣έ̣π̣α̣ς̣ εἰcάνβαμεν' and then propose the correction εἰσόμβαμεν' (εἰσομβάμεν' intended) on dialect grounds. They translate, 'denn einst sagte man auch über Tithonos, daß die rosenarmige Eos aus Liebesverlangen den (Sonnen)becher bestiegen habe, (ihn) zum Ende der Erde tragend'. This is quite unsatisfactory. The Oceanic cup is never mentioned except in connection with the Sun's nocturnal voyage from west to east and with Heracles' crossing to Erythea. Eos has nothing to do with it; it is not suitable for transporting Tithonus from the Troad to Dawnland;[4] nor could it have been introduced casually with the bare δέπας and no further identification. εἰσαναβαίνω is an inappropriate compound for embarking in it, even if, as the editors point out, it is used in Homer of mounting a bed, and Mimnermus describes the cup as Helios' εὐνή. |[5] The verb that Stesichorus uses is ἐσκαταβαίνω (*PMGF* 185=S17). Finally, the simple instrumental dative ἔρωι is hardly adequate to express the fact that Eos made this excursion 'aus Liebesverlangen'.

I have no doubt that -εισαν is the ending of a participle, either aorist passive or an active form from a verb in -μι or -έω (Lesb. -ημμι). The sense requires something like ἔρωι δάμεισαν, though the metre demands two short syllables between ἔρωι and -εισαν, and there are the right number of letters in place. ἔρωτι δάμεισαν

[4] He is normally represented as being carried off by air in Eos' car: cf. Eur. *Tro.* 855 f., Hor. *C.* 1. 28. 8, Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 44 f., Nonn. *D.* 15. 279 f. Some Etruscan and South Italian vase-paintings show her transporting in her car a young man who may be either Tithonus or Cephalus.

would have fitted the bill, but the ἔρωτ- stem is attested in Sappho only in the genitive and perhaps the nominative plural (*ἔρου, *Ἔροι are hardly conceivable); where ερωι is clearly written in the papyrus, we are bound to accept it. The traces after ερωι on the photograph suggest to my eye φ̣ . . ̣α̣θ̣ε̣ισαν. I have racked my brains, lain awake at nights, trying to find the word, but without success. *Videant alii.* But the rest of the line is now straightforward: βάμεν' εἰς ἔσχατα γᾶς φέροισαν, the same idiom as in 16. 9 ἔβα 'ς Τροΐαν πλέοισα (also of a female driven by love).

Thus everything that is missing in the poem can be restored, so far as the sense is concerned, with reasonable certainty. We now have a fourth poem of Sappho (besides frr. 1, 16. 1–20, and 31) that is near enough complete to be appreciated as a whole composition. Here it is in my restoration.

⊗ Υ̓́μμες πεδὰ Μοίσαν ἰ]ο̣κ[ό]λ̣πων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες,
σπουδάσδετε καὶ τὰ]ν̣ φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν·

ἔμοι δ' ἄπαλον πρίν] π̣οτ̣' [ἔ]ο̣ντα χρόα γῆρας ἤδη
ἐπέλλαβε, λεῦκαι δ' ἐγ]ένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν·

βάρυς δέ μ' ὀ [θ]ῦμο̣ς̣ πεπόηται, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι,
τὰ δή ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι.

τὰ <μὲν> στεναχίσδω θαμέως· ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποείην;
ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ' οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι.

καὶ γάρ π̣[ο]τ̣α̣ Τίθωνον ἔφαντο βροδόπαχυν Αὔων
ἔρωι φ̣ . . ̣α̣θ̣ε̣ισαν βάμεν' εἰς ἔσχατα γᾶς φέροισα[ν,

ἔοντα̣ [κ]ά̣λ̣ο̣ν καὶ νέον, ἀλλ' αὖτον ὔμως ἔμαρψε
χρόνωι π̣ό̣λ̣ι̣ο̣ν̣ γῆρας, ἔχ̣[ο]ν̣τ̣' ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν. ⊗

[You for] the fragrant-bosomed Muses' lovely gifts
[be zealous,] girls, [and the] clear melodious lyre:

[but my once tender] body old age now
[has seized;] my hair's turned [white] instead of dark;

my heart's grown heavy, my knees will not support me,
that once on a time were fleet for the dance as fawns.

This state I oft bewail; but what's to do?
Not to grow old, being human, there's no way.

Tithonus once, the tale was, rose-armed Dawn,
love-smitten, carried off to the world's end,

handsome and young then, yet in time grey age
o'ertook him, husband of immortal wife.

This is one of several poems in which Sappho refers to her relatively advanced age. Cf. frr. 21, 24a, 121, and perhaps Lesb. inc. 18. Although fr. 21 was in another metre (Sapphic stanza), its sixth line ended with the same phrase as 58. 11,] *χρόα γῆρας ἤδη*. But it is the new poem that comes closest, of what we have, to providing a model for the painting described by Philostratus, *Imagines* 2. 1:

l[6] *Ἀφροδίτην ἐλεφαντίνην <ἐν> ἁπαλοῖς μυρρινῶσιν ἄιδουσιν ἁπαλαὶ κόραι. διδάσκαλος αὐτὰς ἄγει σοφὴ καὶ οὐδὲ ἔξωρος· ἐφιζάνει γάρ τις ὥρα καὶ ῥυτίδι πρώτηι, γήρως μὲν τὸ ὑπόσεμνον ἕλκουσα, τούτωι δ' αὖ κεραννῦσα τὸ σωιζόμενον τῆς ἀκμῆς. . . . βούλει λόγου τι ἐπιλείβωμεν τῶι βωμῶι; λιβανωτοῦ γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἔχει καὶ κασίας καὶ σμύρνης, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Σαπφοῦς τι ἀναπνεῖν. . . . ἄιδουσι γὰρ αἱ παῖδες, ἄιδουσι, καὶ ἡ διδάσκαλος ὑποβλέπει τὴν ἀπάιδουσαν, κροτοῦσα τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλος ἐμβιβάζουσα.* <And one can see that the girls are preparing to dance;> *τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς στολῆς ἀπέριττον καὶ μὴ δι' ὄχλου αὐταῖς, εἰ ἀθύροιεν, ἢ τὸ ἐν χρῶι τῆς ζώνης, ἢ τὸ εἰς βραχίονα τοῦ χιτῶνος, ἢ ὡς ἀνυποδησίᾱι χαίρουσιν ἐφεστῶσαι ἁπαλῆι πόαι καὶ ἀναψυχὴν ἕλκουσαι παρὰ τῆς δρόσου,*[5] *λειμών τε ὁ περὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς χρώματα, ὡς ἄλλο ἄλλωι ἐπιπρέπει, δαιμονίως ἐκμεμίμηται.*

The contrast between the elderly poet who can no longer dance and the girl singers who can recalls Alcman fr. 26; his *οὔ μ' ἔτι . . . γυῖα φέρην δύναται* parallels Sappho's *γόνα δ' οὐ φέροισι*. We need not suppose that she knew his poetry, which was not composed long (if at all) before hers. It may have been a conventional theme; the kind of situation that prompted it must have been common enough. There is more likely to be a direct connection between Sappho and Anacreon, who almost certainly knew the Lesbian poets' work, or some of it. His lament for old age in *PMG* 395 is very reminiscent of the new Sappho poem, with its recital of 'symptoms', the white hair, and so on, and especially the echo of her *τὰ <μὲν> στεναχίσδω θαμέως* in his *διὰ ταῦτ' ἀνασταλύζω θαμά*. Elsewhere (358, 418) he presents himself as an old man divided by the age gap from a desirable young woman.

There is an interesting analogy, perhaps not immediately obvious, between the new poem and the famous fr. 31, *φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος*. Each starts from a state of tension: on that side a scene of unalloyed

[5] For the dancing on soft grass *πόδεσσι ἀπάλοις* cf. Lesb. inc. 16, which is presumably by Sappho.

delight, on this side the spectator Sappho who has a sense of exclusion. She lists her πάθη, the effects of jealous love in the one case, those of advancing age in the other. Then comes philosophical reflection: in fr. 31 ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ . . . 'Everything is endurable, because . . .'; in fr. 58 ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποείην; ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ' οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι. One must put up with what is inherent in the human condition.[6] In fr. 31 the adoption of this attitude is justified by recourse to a piece of popular wisdom: even the poor man [God may make rich].[7] In fr. 58 it is justified by a mythical exemplum, a standard device of consolation-literature.

The tale of Tithonus was popular in the seventh century. It is related at length in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* (218–38), and he is mentioned also in Homer (*Il.* 20. 237; 11. 1 = *Od.* 5. 1), Tyrtaeus (12. 5), and Mimnermus (4. 1). It may have been related also in the *Aethiopis*, as Tithonus and Eos were the parents of Memnon, who played a large role in that epic.[8] Sappho's four lines about him do not add any new details to the story, and may seem banal, a weak ending to the poem. But the final phrase gives a poignant edge to the whole. Old age overtook Tithonus, ἔχοντ' ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν. He lived on, growing ever more grey, frail, and decrepit, while ever beholding, and measuring himself against, the unfading beauty of his consort—even as Sappho grows old in the face of a cohort of protégées who, like undergraduates, are always young.

|7 3. THE *ΑΒΡΟΣΥΝΑ* POEM

I turn lastly to what we now recognize to be the beginning of another poem, the one that followed the Tithonus poem in P. Oxy. 1787 and, we presume, in the Alexandrian edition. The metre is the same. We

[6] For this motif in Sappho cf. 16. 21 f.]. μεν οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι [– ∪]ν ἀνθρωπ[, 96. 21 ϵ]ὔμαρ[ϵς μ]ὲν οὐκ ἄμμι θέαισι μόρφαν ἐπή[ρατ]ον ἐξίσωσθαι. Cf. 23. 4–7, where she seems to express hesitation about comparing a mortal woman's beauty to Helen's.

[7] For the substance of the defectively transmitted final stanza see *Maia* 22 (1970), 312–14 = above, pp. 33–5.

[8] D. Meyerhoff, *Traditioneller Stoff und individuelle Gestaltung. Untersuchungen zu Alkaios und Sappho* (Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 1984), 190 f. Sappho might have known the Homeric Hymn; cf. my remarks in M. Reichel and A. Rengakos (edd.), *Epea Pteroenta* (Festschrift für Wolfgang Kullmann, Stuttgart 2002), 216 f. = *Hellenica* i. 404 f.

have, in fragmentary condition, its first seven verses, which are fr. 58. 23–6+fr. 59 V. It will be convenient for the present discussion to renumber the lines from 1 to 7. Here they are without supplements:

⊗]ιμέναν νομίcδει
]αιc ὀπάcδοι·
ἔγω δὲ φίλημμ' ἀβροcύναν [– ∪ ∪] τοῦτο καί μοι
τὸ λάμπρον †ἔροc ἀελίω† καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχε.
5 ἐπῑ̣[ ]. [. . .]ν̣ό̣ . [
φίλειc̣[
καιν[

'(Somebody) considers . . . But I favour loveliness':[9] it is at once clear that the poem began with a priamel, comparable with the one in fr. 16. 1–4, οἳ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον, οἳ δὲ πέσδων, | οἳ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπὶ γᾶν μέλαιναν | ἔμμεναι κάλλιστον· ἔγω δὲ κῆν', ὄττω τις ἔραται. There were probably three terms, ὃ μὲν . . . ὃ δὲ . . . ἔγω δὲ . . .; the optative verb ὀπάσδοι must belong to a subordinate or parenthetic clause additional to the main structure.

In the first line all that is to be seen on the papyrus before μέναν is a spot of ink a little above line level. Hunt took it as an iota and restored φθ]ιμέναν, which cannot be entertained in the context as it now appears. Lobel took it as the right-hand half of a trema over a lost iota, but we should not expect a trema on a non-initial iota unless another vowel preceded, and I do not see how such a sequence could arise. Another possibility would be that the dot is one of two cancelling a wrongly placed accent; there are several examples of such corrections in this papyrus. Luppe thinks it could be the tip of upsilon. In any case μέναν must have been preceded by a short vowel. If]ιμέναν is correct, the most likely word, I think, will be κεκριμέναν, 'choice, elite'. The shape of the line may have been κρέτιστον (or κάλλιστον) ὃ μὲν (or μέν τις) (something) κεκριμέναν νομίσδει.

In line 2 Di Benedetto has proposed Κρονίδ]αις ὀπάσδοι (*QUCC* 19. 161). He is right at least in thinking that a god should be the subject of the optative verb. Its object must be the second of the commodities that some people consider the most desirable. For example: ὃ δ' εὐπορίαν, τὰν θέος ἄμμαισι φίλ]αισ' ὀπάσδοι.

[9] 'Loveliness' is an inadequate translation of ἀβροσύνα, but I have not found an adequate one. Sappho does not mean 'elegance' or 'luxury'.

In the next line the quotation in Athenaeus (687b=Clearchus fr. 41 Wehrli) gives ἐγὼ δὲ φίλημμι ἁβροσύναν, καί μοι (and then the whole of 4). The metre shows that five syllables have been omitted, whether deliberately or accidentally, before καί μοι. Two of them were restored to us by the papyrus, which shows]τοῦτοκάι-μοι. That leaves a dactyl missing. Various attempts have been made to supply it: ἔξοχα, δὴ μάλα, πόλλ' ἔτι, ἆδύ γε Hunt, καὶ διὰ Diehl, κέκλυτε Edmonds, ἴσθι δὲ Perrotta, οἴδατε Gallavotti, ἴστε δὲ Di Benedetto (*QUCC* 19. 153f.). Whatever it was, it will have made a phrase with τοῦτο, as this cannot well be construed with τὸ λάμπρον. I suggest αὖτό γε, or αὔτικα in much the same sense, 'loveliness, just this *per se*'.

In line 4 one fragment of the papyrus has the first letters, τολα[, and the main piece has the end,]λ̣ονλ̣έ[.]ογχε; for the rest we depend on cod. A of Athenaeus, which according to Kaibel gives εροσα ελιω. 'Love' and 'the sun' are easily recognized, but to restore the metre we must either write ἔρως, as |[8] first proposed by the anonymous reviewer of Schweighäuser's Athenaeus in the *Jenaische Allgemeine Litteraturzeitung* 3(4) (1806), 140, or τὠελίω with Sitzler, *Bursians Jahresberichte* 92 (1898), 121. The latter may seem the more drastic cure, but it only involves assuming that in the quotation process τὠελίω was resolved into *scriptio plena* and the article then omitted. ἔρος has the advantage over ἔρως of being both *difficilior lectio* and a characteristic Lesbian form; ἔρως is transmitted in quotation-fragments at Sappho 130. 1 (v.l.) and 159, but nowhere guaranteed by metre.

If this argument is accepted, it must be pointed out that ἔρος may be understood as either ἔρος or Ἔρος, and τὠελίω as either τὸ or τῶ ἀελίω; neither point, I think, has been taken into account by the critics who have wrestled with the interpretation of this difficult sentence.[10]

Most of them have connected (τῶ) ἀελίω with ἔρος (or ἔρως) as 'love of the sun(light)', that is, of life. This is how Clearchus understood the line, which he paraphrases as ἡ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμία τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν εἶχεν αὐτῆι.[11] Similarly Perrotta, 'l'amore

[10] 'Sententia mire expressa' (Kaibel ad Ath. l.c.); 'I have no conception of the meaning' (Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, 130 n. 1). See discussions by Di Benedetto, *QUCC* 19. 154–8; B. Marzullo, *Phil.* 138 (1994), 189–93.

[11] I suspect that εἶχεν is corrupt for εἴληχεν, corresponding to Sappho's λέλογχε.

per il sole mi ha dato splendore e bellezza';[12] Treu, 'die Liebe zur Sonne hat auch mir [besides who?] dies schöne und leuchtende Los zuteil werden lassen';[13] and others. I confess I do not understand the logic. 'Love of the sun', if such a peculiar phrase could be used in Greek at all, would mean an intense love of being alive as opposed to dead. How would that connect with the love of ἀβροσύνα? We can say of a woman 'she loves life', meaning that she throws herself enthusiastically into wild social activity, adventurous sports, and so on, but ἔρως τοῦ ἠλίου could hardly carry such connotations.

Schadewaldt construed the sentence differently, making the genitive depend hyperbatically on τὸ λάμπρον and translating 'und ist mir in der Liebe das Leuchten des Sonnenlichts und auch das Schöne geworden'.[14] This has several advantages. Firstly it allows us to resolve τὠελίω into τὸ ἀελίω instead of τῶ ἀελίω; the article with 'sun' is anomalous, as appears from Lobel's detailed study of its use in the Lesbians,[15] whereas if the syntax is with τὸ λάμπρον it was natural to signpost it with an anaphoric τό. Compare 55. 2 f. βρόδων | τὼν ἐκ Πιερίας. Secondly it allows us to treat Eros as a personification, which makes the use of λέλογχε more natural: it is the verb regularly used of a deity in relation to his or her province or sphere of action.[16] Sappho is by any account stretching normal usage, but it helps if we can identify the normal usage that is being stretched. Normally poetic statements of a god's allotted sphere relate to a supposed objective reality, a cosmic dispensation. Sappho's relates to her subjective world. 'For me, it is Love who presides over the sunlit beauty that I see in the world.' Thirdly, this interpretation restores

[12] G. Perrotta, *Saffo e Pindaro* (Bari 1935), 36, approved by Di Benedetto, *QUCC* 19. 155.

[13] *Sappho*, 156. On p. 59 of the same volume he renders 'dies wurde mein Teil im Leben, | hell, strahlend und schön ist dies mein Los, weil ich die Sonne liebe'.

[14] W. Schadewaldt, *Sappho* (Potsdam 1950), 161. This is also how I took it in *Maia* 22 (1970), 330 [=above, p. 51], 'it is love that shows me even the brightness of the sun, and what to hold fair'; *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford 1993), 42, 'Thus does love | define my sunlight and my beautiful'. With the same syntax D. A. Campbell in the Loeb *Greek Lyric*, i. 101, renders 'love has obtained for me the brightness and beauty of the sun', with the note 'End of poem; meaning of last lines uncertain: perhaps "love has kept me alive".'

[15] *Ἀλκαίου μέλη* (Oxford 1927), lxxiv–xciv, at xci, where he finds this instance of the article unexpected, though he prefers to tolerate it rather than admit the form ἔρως. It does not occur to him that τὠελίω may be τὸ ἀελίω.

[16] Hes. *Th.* 203 (λέλογχε, of Aphrodite), 422, 424; *Il.* 15. 190–2; Hymns 2. 86 f., 4. 428, 6. 2, 19. 6.

coherence to the stanza, as ἀβροσύνη is more clearly associated with ἔρως than with being alive.

In line 5 Hunt prints επῑν[. Of the nu only the left side is preserved, a curved, sloping upright from the top of which a transverse stroke departs to the right, curling up almost horizontal. This certainly matches some nus in the papyrus, better than any other letter. But then it is difficult to think of anything but ἔπιν[ον or ἐπίν[ομεν, and hard to feel any confidence in that. Sappho might be looking back to past l^9 merrymaking, as in 94. 8 ff., but one would not expect her to emphasize drinking, or the verb to be put in initial position; in any case Lesbian regularly has πώνω, not πίνω. Where επῑ is carefully furnished with a macron, we cannot take it as an error for ἐπεί. The division ἐπ' ἰν- is possible in principle (with omission of diastole as in this papyrus after δ(') in fr. 3 ii 5, 10, 14. 6, 44. 9, after κ(') in fr. 3 ii 21, after σ(') in fr. 4. 10, after τ(') in fr. 36. 5, 44. 2), but it does not open up any obviously promising avenue.

If it were possible to read the letter as a mu—but I think it is not—we should happily recognize ἐπίμερος, perfectly suited to the context. The last possibility that I see is lambda, if its right leg is raised to join the following letter, as perhaps in the first lambda of λέ[λ]ογχε above.

καιν[in 8 could be part of καινός or (as Hunt assumed) καὶ ν[. A plausible guess is καὶ ν[ῦν, marking the transition from generality to a present particular case. Compare νῦν in 16. 15 . .] με νῦν Ἀνακτορί[ας ὀ]γ̣έμναι[σ' οὐ] παρεοίσας.

Here, then, is my version of the fragment:

⊗ Κρέτιστον ὃ μὲν – ∪ ∪ – κεκρ]ιμέναν νομίσδει,
ὃ δ' εὐπορίαν, τὰν θέος ἄμμαισι φίλ]αισ' ὀπάσδοι·

ἔγω δὲ φίλημμ' ἀβροσύναν, [αὔτό γε] τοῦτο, καί μοι
τὸ λάμπρον Ἔρος τὠελίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχε.

5 ἐπῑγ̣[ ]. [. . .]γ̣ό̣. [
φίλειϛ[α

καὶ ν[ῦν

6

Alcaeus' Brother

Aristotle, Strabo, and a papyrus commentary on Alcaeus tell of the poet's brother Antimenidas.[1] It is clear that the original source was Alcaeus' own poetry.

But no Lesbian metre admits a succession of three short syllables. The name must therefore have been *Ἀντιμενείδας*. *-ίδας/-ίδης* is commoner in such names, but cf. *Παρμενείδας*,[2] *Ἀντιγενείδας*,[3] *Θεογενείδης*,[4] *Ἐπιμενείδης*.[5]

ZPE 145 (2004), 6.

[1] Arist. *Pol.* 1285a36 and fr. 75 R.; Strabo 13. 2. 3; P. Oxy. 2506 fr. 98. 7, 102. 5 (Alc. 306A e/f, 468, 470, 471 Voigt).

[2] F. Cordano, *Le tessere pubbliche dal tempio di Atena a Camarina* (Rome 1992), 57 no. 82a (Camarina, 5th c.); Thessalian examples from the 3rd c. BCE; *Παρμενείδης*, *Inscr. de Délos* 1416 B ii 48, 2589. 12 (Athenian, 2nd c. BCE).

[3] Many examples from central Greece from the fourth century on, see Fraser–Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, iiib. 38; *Ἀντιγενείδης*, *SEG* 17. 36. 2 (Attica, 217/16 BCE).

[4] *IG* 12(9). 249A 239; 249B 396 (Eretria, 4th/3rd c.).

[5] *Fouilles de Delphes* 3(2). 47. 23 (128/7 BCE); *Hesperia* Supp. 15 (1975), 50 no. 7b 12; 62 no. 7h 38 (98/7 BCE).

7

Phocylides

Phocylides was famous as a poet of admonitory or gnomic verse. Isocrates names him together with Hesiod and Theognis, saying that they are praised as the best counsellors for human life, though their advice is seldom followed (2. 43). He is again bracketed with Theognis by Dio of Prusa (2. 5), Athenaeus (632d), and Cyril (*c. Iul., Patrol.* lxxvi. 841d). Theophrastus quoted a line of Theognis (147) in different works as 'Theognis' and as 'Phocylides': we should not infer that it occurred in both poets, but simply that people tended to muddle them. And when Phocylides is dated as σύγχρονος Θεόγνιδος, we must suspect that this was a guess based on nothing more than the similar tendency of their work, for certainly neither named the other.[1]

Phocylides' maxims, like Theognis', have a nominal addressee (3 [14]. 8 φίλ' ἑταῖρε), but they are clearly intended to be of general utility; Dio (loc. cit.) represents him as giving advice τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταις. They differ from Theognis' in being in hexameters, not elegiacs.[2] They were not, therefore, sung to the aulos at symposia, as Theognis expects his verses to be (237–43), but recited.[3] Whatever kind of occasion is to be imagined, it seems likely that they were

JHS 98 (1978), 164–7.

[1] *Suda* φ 643, from Hesychius of Miletus. Cf. *SGEI* 65 f.

[2] They are collected in Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, ii. 68–72; Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.* I. i. 57–60; [and my *Theognidis et Phocylidis Fragmenta* (Berlin–New York 1978), 34–9, with a new numbering and brief Latin notes.] I here follow Bergk's numbering [with my own added in square brackets]. The evidence that Phocylides also wrote elegiacs is unreliable; see *IEG* ii. 95, *SGEI* 171.

[3] Chamaileon fr. 28 Wehrli=31 Giordano (Ath. 620c) knows of performers who sang (μελωιδεῖν) οὐ μόνον τὰ Ὁμήρου ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, ἔτι δὲ Μιμνέρμου καὶ Φωκυλίδου. These were presumably citharodes who had lost the art of composing for themselves; see *CQ* 21 (1971), 307–9 [= below, pp. 86–90].

recited not as isolated apophthegms of two or three lines but in connected series, as they were later to be found in books.

This point requires amplification. It appears at first sight to be in flat contradiction to the testimony of Dio of Prusa 36. 11 f.:

καὶ τῆς τοῦ Φωκυλίδου ποιήσεως ἔξεστί σοι λαβεῖν δεῖγμα ἐν βραχεῖ· καὶ γάρ ἐστιν οὐ τῶν μακράν τινα καὶ συνεχῆ ποίησιν εἰρόντων, ὥσπερ ὁ ὑμέτερος μίαν ἑξῆς διέξεισι μάχην ἐν πλείοσιν ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις ἔπεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύο καὶ τρία ἔπη αὐτῶι καὶ ἀρχὴν ἡ ποίησις καὶ πέρας λαμβάνει. ὥστε καὶ προστίθησι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον διανόημα, ἅτε σπουδαῖον καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἡγούμενος.

What Dio found in his Phocylides was a sequence of short, apparently independent items, marked off one from another by the phrase *καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω* which appears in four of our fragments. But they stood together in one book, and there is no reason to suppose it was any different with the Phocylides known to Isocrates and Plato. It is not hard to imagine a fifth-century schoolmaster reciting such a Phocylides to his class and hearing them recite it back; or a rhapsode giving a recital of Phocylides' collected wisdom in the same catalogue form.

I suspect that it was intended as a coherent composition from the start. It is usually thought that the purpose of the *καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω* was to label each separate utterance in the hope of preventing misappropriation—the kind of misappropriation that Theognis alludes to in 19–23, and that Thestorides of Phocaea is said to have practised with certain poems of Homer.[4] But it must have been obvious to anyone who thought twice about it that such a device offered no protection whatever. A plagiarist had only to substitute his own name or, if that could not be fitted in, some other phrase such as *εὖ μοι φράζεσθαι*. It is further to be noted that *καὶ τόδε* places each item so introduced in relationship to others already given. The particle itself implies, not a wholly independent utterance, but an addition to a series.

[4] Ps.-Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* 15–17. Much has been written on the supposed device of the *σφραγίς*, a pseudo-technical term constructed on a misinterpretation of Thgn. 19 and idle speculation about the meaning of *σφραγίς* as a part of the citharodic nome (Poll. 4. 66). Poets mention their own names for a variety of reasons. To put all such mentions under the single heading *σφραγίς* is to succumb to that love of formulaic labels that so often serves as a curb to thought. J. Geffcken, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* (Heidelberg 1926–34), i (Anmerkungen), 96 n. 2, diagnosed Phocylides' repetition of his name as a 'Mangel an Originalität'.

Phocylides is named not merely to give credit where it is due but to lend authority to the precepts; I think we may take it as axiomatic, whenever precepts are presented in association with a name, that such is the intention. If we look about in the field of gnomic and didactic literature without limiting our gaze to classical Greece,[5] we see that it is usual for the source of the advice to be identified, whether as a god, a king, some other respected personage, or simply an anonymous wise man. It is a feature of some texts that we are reminded of this source repeatedly. Two thousand years before Phocylides a Sumerian poet composed the *Instructions of Šuruppag*, in which the antediluvian sage Šuruppag was represented as instructing his son Zi-ud-sura.[6] The line

šuruppag^{ki} dumu-ni-ra na na-mu-un-de$_5$-de$_5$

Šuruppag gave instructions to his son,

I^{165} which first appears in the introduction (line 6), is repeated in an early version after fourteen lines, again after ten, again after sixteen, and at least once subsequently. In a later recension of the work, dating from *c.*1800 BCE, these reprises have been reduced in number but made more elaborate:

(73) Šuruppag gave these instructions to his son,
Šuruppag, the son of Ubara-Tutu, gave these instructions to his son Zi-ud-sura.

A second time Šuruppag gave instructions to his son,
Šuruppag, the son of Ubara-Tutu, gave instructions to his son Zi-ud-sura.

And likewise in 143 ff., with 'third' instead of 'second'.

We find a similar technique in an Old English gnomic poem preserved in the Exeter Book.[7] The opening verses announce that this is how a wise old father taught his noble son. Then after eleven lines of precepts we have

[5] I have made a short survey of this literature, with particular emphasis on the ancient Near East, in the introduction to my edition of Hesiod's *Works and Days* (Oxford 1978).

[6] Jeremy Black and others, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer* (Oxford 2004), 284–92.

[7] T. A. Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English* (Cambridge–Totowa, NJ 1976), 48–52.

Fæder eft his sunu fród gegrétte
óþre síþe.

The experienced father again addressed his son
another time.

After only four and a half more lines of instruction it is

Ðriddan sýþe þoncsnottur guma
bréostgehygdum his bearn lærde.

A third time the wise man
with his breast-thoughts taught his child.

And so on until ten lessons have been reported. The introduction occupies two lines in each case; the wording is skilfully varied, the most constant feature being the adverb *eft* 'again'. The number of verses in the successive sections of instruction from the third to the tenth is: four, three, nine, seven, five, four, nine, seventeen.

A more stereotyped form of heading appears in a Middle English gnomic poem, the *Proverbs of Alfred*, composed in the twelfth century.[8] After the prologue which explains that King Alfred gave all this advice to a gathering of bishops, scholars, earls, and knights at Seaford, each section—there are 28 of them in the longest recension, amounting to 512 short verses—is introduced by

þus quad Alfured Englene frouere,

Thus quoth Alfred, support of the English,

or more often simply

þus quad Alfured.

In the Trinity College Cambridge MS. B. 14. 39 the *Proverbs* are followed (without indication of a change) by another, shorter poem of somewhat later date in which Alfred again plays the part of instructor, but this time addresses his son. There are five sections, 133 lines, and again each section begins 'þus quad Alured', followed this time by 'Sune min so leue', 'Sone min so dere', or 'Lewe sone dere'.

Obviously this repetition is not the result of collecting together in one book a quantity of little pieces that had been circulating

[8] O. Arngart, *The Proverbs of Alfred* (Skrifter utgivna av kungl. humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, 32/2) (Lund 1942).

separately, each labelled 'þus quað Alfred', no two of them overlapping in content. It is a literary device designed to impose some organization upon material that was by nature lacking in structural cohesion. Essentially the same purpose is served by other formulas in some Norse gnomic poetry. In the *Loddfáfnismál* (*Hávamál* 111–37), stanza after stanza of Óðin's instruction begins with

> Ráðomc þér Loddfáfnir, at þú ráð nemir:
> nióta mundo, ef þú nemr,
> þér muno góð, ef þú getr.
>
> I counsel thee, Loddfafnir, and hear thou my counsel:
> profit shalt thou if thou hearest,
> good thy gain if thou learnest.

Often only a single precept follows. In the *Sigrdrífumál* (22–37) the instruction of the Valkyrie Sigrdrífa to Sigurð is marked out by the series 'þat ræð ec þér iþ fyrsta', 'þat ræð ec þér annat', 'This I counsel thee first', 'This I counsel thee second', and so on up to the eleventh.

In view of the parallels I would suggest that the recurring *καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω* in Phocylides' book served simply to mark new items or sections in a single gnomic poem. Its implication is that Phocylides is a man whose advice is worth attending to. The ancients assumed that he was the actual poet, but appear to have known nothing about his life or person. It is equally possible that he was someone known at the time and place of composition as a sage of a former generation. Later Greek poets, after all, composed moralizing poems in the persons of Bias of Priene (*περὶ Ἰωνίας, τίνα μάλιστ' ἂν τρόπον εὐδαιμονοίη, εἰς ἔπη δισχίλια*), Pythagoras, and others.[9] It may be that the technique of repeating 'This too is the instruction of —' came ultimately from some oriental model. *Šuruppag* was still studied by the Babylonians (in translation) towards the end of the second millennium, more than a thousand years after the original composition, and its form may have been copied in later Babylonian wisdom texts now lost. In my introduction to the *Works and Days* I argue that there must have been a tradition of wisdom poetry in Ionia before Hesiod, and that Hesiod's poem shows the influence of Near Eastern literature of this type,

[9] See further my *Hesiod, Works and Days* (Oxford 1978), 24 f.

whether this influence came through the Ionian tradition or by a separate route. It is quite possible that Phocylides inherited the *καὶ τόδε* form from orientalizing Ionian forerunners.

I have so far said nothing of the one or perhaps two elegiac distichs of Demodocus of Leros that begin *καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου*.[10] There is little that needs to be said except that Demodocus is notable for his sharp wit, which he directs in fr. 1 against his neighbours the Milesians. His *καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου* is surely to be understood as parody of the well-known Milesian Phocylides poem. If we knew his exact date, it would give us a *terminus ante quem* for Phocylides; but we do not really know whether he lived in the sixth century or the fifth.

Now for some remarks on the individual fragments of the poem. There is more in some of them than meets the eye at first glance.

13 [1] *χρὴ παῖδ' ἔτ' ἐόντα*
καλὰ διδασκέμεν ἔργα.

If Phocylides followed his own advice, he addressed his instruction to a boy, and this fragment may come from an introduction in which he explained why he was instructing him. In the pseudo-Hesiodic *Precepts of Chiron* it was l[166] said that children's education should begin at the age of seven, or in the seventh year (fr. 285); that rule may likewise have been laid down in relation to the addressee of the poem, Achilles, who according to Pindar went to the Centaur *ἐξέτης τὸ πρῶτον* (*Nem.* 3. 49). Cf. also Thgn. 27 f. *σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷά περ αὐτός* | *Κύρν' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον*, and *1049*[11] *σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ οἷά τε παιδὶ πατὴρ ὑποθήσομαι αὐτός* | *ἐσθλά.*

10 [2] *δίζησθαι βιοτήν, ἀρετὴν δ' ὅταν ἦι βίος ἤδη.*

7 [3] *χρηΐζων πλούτου μελέτην ἔχε πίονος ἀγροῦ·*
ἀγρὸν γάρ τε λέγουσιν Ἀμαλθείης κέρας εἶναι.

Like Hesiod, Phocylides encourages his pupil to seek prosperity and a livelihood through agriculture. It is through this prosperity that one may hope to attain *ἀρετή*, still used here in the sense of social status, being an *ἐσθλός*, a man of quality. *Op.* 312 f. *εἰ δέ κεν ἐργάζηι,*

[10] The phrase is attested only in fr. 2, plausibly supplemented in fr. 1.

[11] Theognidean line-references in sloping type indicate that the poem in question is anonymous.

τάχα σε ζηλώσει ἀεργός | πλουτέοντα· πλούτωι δ' ἀρετὴ καὶ κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ; see my commentary ad loc. According to the story told by Herodotus 5. 29, Milesian farming in the sixth century was in a poor state, and the city was only put on its feet when the government was entrusted to those few who were found to run their farms efficiently.

16 [4] χρήστης κακοῦ ἔμμεναι ἀνδρός
φεύγειν, μή σέ γ' ἀνιήσηι παρὰ καιρὸν ἀπαιτέων.

Hesiod also gives advice on borrowing, *Op.* 349 ff. Bergk conjectured that καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω preceded.

15 [5] ἀλλ' ἄρα δαίμονές εἰσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι,
οἳ μὲν ἐπερχομένου κακοῦ ἀνέρας ἐκλύσασθαι, . . .

14 [6] (χρὴ) πόλλ' ἀέκοντα παθεῖν διζήμενον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλόν.

For all one's efforts, success depends ultimately on the gods. Cf. *Op.* 474, 483 f., 667–9; Thgn. 133 ff., 149 f., 155 ff., *161* ff., *660* ff.; Solon 13. 67–70.

8 [7] νυκτὸς βουλεύειν· νυκτὸς δέ τοι ὀξυτέρη φρήν
ἀνδράσιν· ἡσυχίη δ' ἀρετὴν διζημένωι ἐσθλή.

Advice on τὸ βουλεύειν: Thgn. 69 ff., *633* f., *1051* ff. Note the recurrence (here and in 14 [6] above) of δίζησθαι ἀρετήν / ἔμμεναι ἐσθλόν as the goal.

The next group of fragments brings us more into the sphere of politics and society.

5 [8] καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· πόλις ἐν σκοπέλωι κατὰ κόσμον
οἰκέουσα σμικρὴ κρέσσων Νίνου ἀφραινούσης.

Eunomia is more important than magnificence. Nineveh was destroyed in 612, and with it collapsed the mighty Assyrian kingdom after three centuries of splendour. It did not impinge on the Greeks while it existed: it was its fall that attracted their attention and made it suitable as a moral paradigm. I take it, then, that the verses date from after 612. But if Phocylides was a sage of an earlier time, he might have been represented as saying this while Nineveh still stood, in the same way as a later fable made Solon disparage the wealth of Sardis before its fall.

Albrecht Dihle argues further that the verses will date from before 547, because the impression made upon an Asiatic Greek by the fall

of Lydia must have put the fall of Nineveh 65 years earlier very much in the background of his thoughts.[12] This is reasonable.

12 [9] *πολλὰ μέσοισιν ἄριστα· μέσος θέλω ἐν πόλει εἶναι.*

The middle is the safest station when the city is polarized by class strife. Cf. Thgn. 219 f. *μηδὲν ἄγαν ἄσχαλλε ταρασσομένων πολιητέων,* | *Κύρνε, μέσην δ' ἔρχεο τὴν ὁδὸν ὥσπερ ἐγώ* (when the democrats are turbulent, the prudent aristocrat does not express his indignation too loudly); 331 f. *ἥσυχος ὥσπερ ἐγὼ μέσσην ὁδὸν ἔρχεο ποσσίν,* | *μηδετέροισι διδοὺς Κύρνε τὰ τῶν ἑτέρων*; perhaps 335 *μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· πάντων μέσ' ἄριστα· καὶ οὕτως* (even so) | *Κύρν' ἕξεις ἀρετήν, ἥν τε λαβεῖν χαλεπόν.*

6 [10] *καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· χρή τοι τὸν ἑταῖρον ἑταίρωι*
φροντίζειν, ἄσσ' ἂν περιγογγύζωσι πολῖται.

'One must be concerned for one's friend about whatever the people are murmuring'—and presumably warn him if he is in danger.

4 [11] *καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· τί πλέον, γένος εὐγενὲς εἶναι,*
οἷς οὔτ' ἐν μύθοις ἕπεται χάρις οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῆι;

Criticism of unpleasant nobles. One expects better from men of good family.

9 [12] *πολλοί τοι δοκέουσι σαόφρονες ἔμμεναι ἄνδρες*
σὺν κόσμωι στείχοντες, ἐλαφρόνοοί περ ἐόντες.

A warning to distrust outward appearances. Cf. Thgn. 965 ff. In view of *στείχοντες*, *κόσμος* may mean not just 'a sober manner' but 'ornate apparel'. That such apparel was assumed by certain men of note in sixth-century Miletus may be gathered from a tradition about Anaximander:

Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου γράφων φησὶν ὅτι τοῦτον ἐζηλώκει (sc. ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) *τραγικὸν ἀσκῶν τῦφον καὶ σεμνὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα.* (Diog. Laert. 8. 70)

11 [13] *χρὴ δ' ἐν συμποσίοι κυλίκων περινισομενάων*
ἡδέα κωτίλλοντα καθήμενον οἰνοποτάζειν.

κωτίλλειν is somewhat pejorative, used in archaic Greek of foolish chatter or insincere pleasantry. The addition of *ἡδέα* definitely suggests the latter sense, cf. *Op.* 374 *αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσα*, Thgn. *363*

[12] *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart 1967), 79.

εὖ κώτιλλε τὸν ἐχθρόν, 852 μαλθακὰ κωτίλλων, Solon 34. 3 κωτίλλοντα λείως. Phocylides probably went on to say, 'but one should be careful and observant of those present'. In times of political uncertainty the symposium afforded good opportunities for seeing into other men's minds, but one had to avoid appearing too alert. The best commentary is Thgn. *309* ff. ἐν μὲν συσσίτοισιν ἀνὴρ πεπνυμένος εἶναι, | πάντα δέ μιν λήθειν ὡς ἀπεόντα δοκοῖ, | εἰς δὲ φέροι τὰ γελοῖα· θύρηφι δὲ καρτερὸς εἴη, | γινώσκων ὀργὴν ἥντιν' ἕκαστος ἔχει.

Miletus suffered severely from civil strife for two generations after the tyranny of Thrasybulus (Hdt. 5. 28). The dating inferred from the Nineveh allusion would put our poem in this period of strife, and the above fragments fit well into that context.

3 [14] καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· τετόρων ἀπὸ †τῶν γένοντο
φῦλα γυναικείων†· ἣ μὲν κυνός, ἣ δὲ μελίσσης,
ἣ δὲ συὸς βλοσυρῆς, ἣ δ' ἵππου χαιτηέσσης.
εὔφορος ἥδε, ταχεῖα, περίδρομος, εἶδος ἀρίστη·
ἣ δὲ συὸς βλοσυρῆς, οὔτ' ἄρ κακὴ οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλή·
ἣ δὲ κυνός, χαλεπή τε καὶ ἄγριος· ἣ δὲ μελίσσης,
οἰκονόμος τ' ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἐπίσταται ἐργάζεσθαι·
ἧς εὔχεο φίλ' ἑταῖρε λαχεῖν γάμου ἱμερόεντος.

A quite different subject. The choice of a suitable wife and the avoidance of dangerous women is a typical topic in oriental wisdom literature, touched on also in the *Works* | [167] *and Days.* The idea of types of women formed from different animals is set out at much greater length in Semonides 7. Phocylides' four all appear there. The women who come from the ἵππος χαιτήεσσα and the bee are described in similar terms in both poems. Phocylides' sow- and bitch-women, however, have qualities which correspond rather to Semonides' earth-woman (22 f. οὔτε γὰρ κακόν | οὔτ' ἐσθλὸν οὐδὲν οἶδε) and sea-woman (32 ff.) respectively. Phocylides hardly succeeds, in the space he allows himself, in giving his sow-woman any specifically porcine feature. Whether he is drawing directly on Semonides or on a commonplace of popular philosophy cannot be decided with certainty.[13]

[13] Bergk appends to his collection of fragments a number of anonymous gnomic hexameters which may come from Phocylides. Their inclusion would not significantly affect the picture I have drawn. [They are included in the Adespota Gnomica in my *Theognidis et Phocylidis Fragmenta* (above, n. 2), 40–4.]

To sum up: the evidence is consistent with the hypothesis that the hexameter fragments ascribed to Phocylides come from a gnomic poem, composed in Miletus in the first half of the sixth century, in which one Phocylides was represented as giving advice to a juvenile friend on a range of topics including how to become a man of standing; how to conduct oneself in a society shot through with political tensions; the different types of women. Such a poem fits well when seen in its historical context, and no less well when seen against the general background of archaic Greek and earlier oriental wisdom poetry.

8

Stesichorus

Histories of literature tend to treat Stesichorus as just one of the lyric poets, like Alcman or Anacreon. But the vast scale of his compositions puts him in a category of his own. It has always been known that his *Oresteia* was divided into more than one book; P. Oxy. 2360 gave us fragments of a narrative about Telemachus of a nearly Homeric amplitude; and from P. Oxy. 2617 it was learned that the *Geryoneis* contained at least 1,300 verses, the total being perhaps closer to two thousand.[1] Even allowing for the shorter lines, this was as long as many an epic poem. Indeed, these *were* epic poems, in subject and style as well as in length: epics to be sung instead of recited. What was behind them? Who was this Stesichorus, and how did he come to be, in Quintilian's phrase, 'sustaining on the lyre the weight of epic song'?

The biographical problem must be tackled first. The question of Stesichorus' historical setting and date is confused by legendary elements as well as by contradiction in the sources. On the whole scholars remain spellbound by the specious precision of the *Suda*'s dates (632–556), although it has long been realized that they are founded on nothing but the assumption that Stesichorus was younger than Alcman and older than Simonides.[2] There have been

CQ 21 (1971), 302–14. There the footnotes were numbered anew on each page.

[1] Cf. W. S. Barrett and D. L. Page in *Lyrica Graeca Selecta* (OCT), 264. The permutation-cycle of triads and papyrus columns shows that nearly 400 verses (or a multiple thereof!) separated Geryon's death in *PMGF* S15 from his speech contemplating it in S11.

[2] 632/29 is forty years after the date for Alcman (apparently a *floruit*) given by the *Suda* (see above, p. 27). 556 is the birth of Simonides, fixed by a statement of his own. The dates are probably Apollodorus', see F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik* (Berlin 1902), 197–200.

excellent discussions by Wilamowitz and Maas,[3] but they seem to have had little influence.

STESICHORUS IN SOUTH ITALY

Everyone in Magna Graecia before the reign of Hiero moves in a cloud of legend. A fair-sized portion of the cloud is Pythagorean territory, and almost anyone is liable to find himself entendrilled from that quarter, whether he belongs there or not. So it is with Stesichorus, particularly when he is connected with the mainland of Italy.

1. He came, it is said, from Matauros, a Locrian foundation (St. Byz. s.v. *Μάταυρος*, where he is called *Ματαυρῖνος γένος*; *Suda* σ 1095).
2. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1395a1 (cf. 1412a22), alludes to an evidently familiar apophthegm of Stesichorus uttered at Locri (*ἐν Λοκροῖς*). This is one of four stories in which Stesichorus warns a city against violence or tyranny. He |[303] warned the Himeraeans against Phalaris (*c.*570), or Gelon (491); and he put an end to civil strife somewhere by musical psychotherapy.[4] The association of music and moderate politics seems to reflect Pythagorean interests. Pythagoras too is made to confront Phalaris.[5]
3. One of the names given for Stesichorus' father is Euetes.[6] A Euetes appears as a Locrian in the list of early Pythagoreans in

[3] Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913; hereafter *SS*), 233–42; P. Maas, *RE* iiiA. 2458f. Wilamowitz's unattractive hypothesis that there were two early Stesichori has perhaps led to undue neglect of his treatment of the evidence. Twelve years later he wrote: 'Daß Stesichoros, der Verfasser der beruhmtesten Gedichte, selbst Orestie und Helene, der Lokrer war, der im Peloponnes lebte, jünger als Ibykos, wird mir immer sicherer. Gerade die Analyse der Sagen scheint es zu fordern. Darauf, daß dieser Ansatz, der dem antiken Glauben widerspricht, sich auch heute nicht ohne starken Widerspruch durchsetzen würde, war ich gefaßt. Aber durchsetzen wird er sich schon' (*SPAW* 1925, 46 n.=*Kl. Schr.* v (2). 61 n. 1). The prediction has not so far been fulfilled.

[4] Arist. *Rhet.* 1393b8; Conon *FGrHist* 26 F 1. 42; Diog. Bab. *ap.* Philod. *Mus.* p. 18 Kemke=42 van Krevelen, 221 Rispoli (*SVF* iii. 232. 31 Arnim).

[5] Iambl. *VP* 215–20; cf. Tzetz. in Hes. *Op.* p. 16 Gaisford (1820) *ὁ δὲ Στησίχορος οὗτος σύγχρονος ἦν Πυθαγόραι τῶι φιλοσόφωι καὶ τῶι Ἀκραγαντίνωι Φαλάριδι.*

[6] Wilamowitz's emendation of *ὑέτης* in the *Suda*. All other names for Stesichorus' father begin with Eu-.

Iambl. *VP* 267.[7] It can hardly be a coincidence that in the same list, and elsewhere in Iamblichus' *Life*, there appears a Rhegine lawgiver Phytios, which is the name of the father of Ibycus.[8]

4. Other names given for Stesichorus' father are Euphemos (so Plato) and Euphorbos.[s1] The Homeric Euphorbos is the most commonly mentioned of Pythagoras' earlier incarnations.[9] A Euphemos appears in the list of Pythagoreans; he comes from Metapontum.
5. Stesichorus is credited with two brothers: Helianax, a lawgiver, and Mamertios (or something similar), a notable geometer between Thales and Pythagoras. The 'lawgiver' reminds us of Ibycus' father, and the name 'Helianax' suggests that religious glorification of the sun which Sophocles attributes to *οἱ σοφοί*.[10 s2] Mamertios was known to Hippias (86 B 12 D.–K.) as a figure in the history of mathematics, and can hardly have figured in any but a Pythagorean tradition. The name looks Italian; there was a town Mamertion near Rhegium. One of the variants is *Μάμερκος*, which appears elsewhere as the name of a son of Pythagoras.[11]
6. How did Stesichorus know that Helen was the cause of his blindness? According to Plato, *Phaedrus* 243a, he understood it *ἅτε μουσικὸς ὤν*. But there was a story that she sent him a message to Himera from the White Island, by a man from Croton who had been wounded in battle against Locri by the

[7] Not as a Crotoniate, as Wilamowitz says. On the origins of the document see W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), 105 n. 40.

[8] Cf. C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1961), 241. A Pythagorean writer called Ibycus (Ath. 69e) is usually emended away, and probably rightly. (The name Ibycus had occurred in 57 f.)

[9] But Antipater's claim that 'Homer's soul made its second home in Stesichorus' breast according to Pythagoras' account of nature' (Antip. Thess. 74 Gow–Page, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 75) is an autoschediasm.

[10] Fr. 752; cf. *OT* 660. In *El.* 62–4 *οἱ σοφοί* may well include Pythagoras, cf. Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 155–61. Sophocles' friend Ion of Chios was certainly interested in Pythagoreanism. Elsewhere (fr. 582) Sophocles made the sun the chief god of the Thracians. But this might be an echo of the *Bassarai* of Aeschylus, where a sun-worshipping Orpheus may have appeared in Thrace (see my *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart 1990), 32–42); and Aeschylus' Orpheus might be the Orpheus of Pythagorean fancy.

[11] Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 2. 1, *Numa* 8. 9; Festus p. 22. L. Casaubon conjectured it for *Μάρμακος* as the name of his father in Diog. Laert. 8. 1. Cf. M. Detienne, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 152 (1957), 142; Burkert, op. cit., 417 n. 93.

Locrian Ajax, and who had had to visit Ajax in the heroes' island to obtain healing.[12] The battle is perhaps to be dated *c.*550–540.[13] Stesichorus is only loosely linked with it: someone thought that his discovery of Helen's anger could do with an explanation, and combined it |[304] with the Crotonian story about a man who went to the White Island and met various celebrated heroes. Wilamowitz may be right in saying that the story implies a Locrian and not a Himeraean Stesichorus.

What this all adds up to is a persistent tradition of a Mataurine Stesichorus who was active at Locri as well as at Himera; and a good deal of fable, some of it coloured by Pythagorean elements. There is no suggestion of an association with Pythagoras himself. It is difficult to draw any chronological conclusions from this kind of material. Phalaris, Mamertios, and the battle between Croton and Locri would imply that he was thought to have flourished before Pythagoras; Gelon and Euetes/Euphemos would put him after.

STERSICHORUS IN HIMERA AND ELSEWHERE

'Stesichorus of Himera' is how he was known to Plato and many others, and it is implied by Plato's contemporary 'Stesichorus of Himera the Second'.[14] There is no reason why a Mataurine Stesichorus should not have spent much time at Himera, and extended residence there is suggested by those features of his dialect that differ from epic. Besides numerous Doric elements[15] he has *ἐῖν* for *ἐῖναι* S15 i 7, known from Euboean Ionic (and Chian), and

[12] Conon 26 F 1. 18; Paus. 3. 19. 11–13 ('the Crotoniates and Himeraeans say'); Hermias on Plato loc. cit.

[13] So T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948), 359f.; according to another line of argument, *c.*580–570 (P. J. Bicknell, *Phoenix* 20 (1966), 294–301).

[14] See Wilamowitz, *SS* 233. Plato: *Phaedr.* 244a. Wilamowitz infers from ps.-Plut. *De musica* 7 that Glaucus of Rhegium too called Stesichorus a Himeraean; Maas is more cautious.

[15] To those listed by Lobel in his introductions to P. Oxy. 2617 and 2619 add *παγᾶς PMGF* 184. 2; *ὠραν-* 209 i 3; *πέποσχ(α)* 261 (also in Epicharmus); *ποταύδη* 264, and perhaps similarly *πίτνη* S105. 7; *ἰαρός* S17. 4, 222 ii 6; *αὐτεῖ* S88 ii 10; *εἴμεν* S102. 5 (also in Epicharmus); *γαμέν* S148 ii 9?.

κρέσσον (S11. 11) should probably also be regarded as Ionic.[16] The mixture agrees happily with what Thuc. 6. 5. 1 says of the dialect of Himera: μεταξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη.

Another tradition transfers Stesichorus to the Greek mainland. In Ozolian Locris, as well as in the Italian Locri, there was an important tradition of music and poetry in the sixth and fifth centuries,[17] and stories were told about poets of the past. The Ναυπάκτια ἔπη give evidence of literate Locrian interest in genealogical poetry, and it would not be surprising if some of the mass of poetry that bore Hesiod's name was current there.[18] At any rate, Hesiod was said by the local people to have died there (Thuc. 3. 96). The fuller story comes in *Certamen* 13–14, from Alcidamas and Eratosthenes. Hesiod was killed because he had seduced a local girl, or was thought to have. In Eratosthenes' version she hanged herself for shame, but in a version known to Aristotle and Philochorus, which I take to be the Locrian version, she gave birth to Stesichorus.[19] The story presupposes that Stesichorus' poetry, like Hesiod's, was I[305] well known in Locris. This may be a reflection of his special association with Italian Locri.

Although it is not on record that he visited Sparta, it was guessed from the fact that he placed Agamemnon's palace there instead of at Mycenae (*PMGF* 216), which appears to reflect Spartan propaganda

[16] Lobel says it is 'neither Homeric nor Doric, so far as is known'. It is now found in a papyrus of Hes. *Op.* 210, however (H. Maehler, *Mus. Helv.* 24 (1967), 64), and it has been suspected that Homeric κρείσσων is an Atticism of the tradition. Cf. P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* (Paris 1942), i. 256; my *Homeri Ilias*, I. xx. Sicilian Doric had κάρρων (Epicharmus, Sophron, ps.-Pythagorica).

[17] W. A. Oldfather, *RE* xiii. 1281–4, 1359f., collects the evidence, but needs to be read critically. Cf. Wilamowitz, *SS* 238.

[18] The date of the Ναυπάκτια ἔπη is uncertain, but not later than the fifth century, since it was known to Charon of Lampsacus (*FGrHist* 262 F 4) *ap.* Paus. 10. 38. 11. According to Charon it was composed by one Carcinus of Naupactus, but Pausanias claims that it was generally ascribed to a Milesian. Bergk conjectured that this was Cercops, who was also named as alternative author for the Hesiodic *Aigimios*; cf. the testimonia in *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, 151.

[19] Arist. fr. 565, Philoch. 328 F 213. Eratosthenes will have been aware of the chronological difficulty, and perhaps eliminated Stesichorus from the story for that reason. A variant made Stesichorus the son of a daughter of Hesiod (Cic. *Rep.* 2. 20, apparently); this too will be a chronological expedient (Mommsen, *Rh. Mus.* 15 (1860), 167). We do not know what Alcidamas' version was. If it involved the birth of Stesichorus, he may have postponed that from the section of his *Mouseion* that the *Certamen* draws on to a later one on Stesichorus.

of the mid sixth century.[20] It now seems to be confirmed by P. Oxy. 2735 fr. 1 [*PMGF* Ibycus S166].[21]

OTHER CHRONOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1. Simonides, at some date before 468, mentioned Meleager's record-breaking javelin throw at the funeral games for Pelias, and then specified authorities: *οὕτω γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἠδὲ Στησίχορος ἄεισε λαοῖς* (*PMG* 564=fr. 273 Poltera). It follows that Stesichorus' poems, or at least the *Ἆθλα ἐπὶ Πελίαι*, had become 'classic', but it does not follow that they were composed before 550.
2. Eusebius, Cyril, and the *Suda* (*σ* 107) make Stesichorus a contemporary of Sappho, Alcaeus, and Pittacus. It is odd that he should be named in this company, but the dating is consistent with Apollodorus' 632–556 and will have the same basis.
3. Cicero knew a tradition that Stesichorus died an old man (*De senectute* 23), and he was so represented in sculpture (id. *Verr.* 2. 2. 87); the author of ps.-Lucian *περὶ μακροβίων*, who has a penchant for attributing the age of 85 to notable people, attributes it also to Stesichorus. The longevity may reflect a genuine memory, or only the struggles of chronographers to reconcile the story of Hesiod's paternity with other evidence. That Stesichorus was not cut short in extreme youth, however, may be argued from the sheer quantity of his poetry.
4. The Parian Marble, under 485/4, says *Στησίχορος ὁ ποιητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκετο*. This may be connected with the Gelon version of the tyrant story[22] and with the presence of Euetes of Locri in the Pythagorean list. On other grounds it is an improbably late dating.
5. It is clear, especially from P. Oxy. 2360=*PMGF* 209, that Stesichorus followed specific epic models. If we could identify

[20] Cf. the importation of the bones of Orestes *κατὰ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίην*, and Bowra (as in n. 8), 112–15.

[21] Cf. my discussion in *ZPE* 4 (1969), 146–9 (included in Chapter 9 below).

[22] E. Dopp, *Quaestiones de Marmore Pario* (Rostock 1883), 47.

and then date the epics, we would have a *terminus post quem*. There is one case in which it may be possible to get a useful result from this approach. The Argument to the Hesiodic *Shield*, after giving the opinions of Aristophanes, Megacl<id>es, and Apollonius Rhodius on the poem's authenticity, says καὶ Στησίχορος δέ φησιν Ἡσιόδου εἶναι τὸ ποίημα (*PMGF* 269). This may well come from Megaclides, who has just been mentioned; he discussed elsewhere Stesichorus' treatment of Heracles, and spoke of a reference in Stesichorus to an earlier poet (*PMGF* 229). Now if it is true that Stesichorus named Hesiod in connection with the subject of his *Kyknos*, and if the *Shield* was the poem he was thinking of, a date hardly before 550 would be indicated. The I[306] art of *c.*580–570 gives a *terminus post quem* for the *Shield*, and a certain time would be needed for it to become attributed to Hesiod and then to reach the ears of Stesichorus. On the other hand, the same kind (if not degree) of suspicion must attach to the report about Stesichorus as to the reports that Callinus and Archilochus named Homer as the author of the *Thebaid* and *Margites* respectively. See J. A. Davison, *Eranos* 53 (1955), 134ff.=*From Archilochus to Pindar* (London 1968), 79ff.

6. Many of the themes of Stesichorus' poems were popular subjects in seventh- and sixth-century art.[23] But as they must all have been current in epic poetry before him, it is in principle unlikely that we shall be able to establish direct influence of his poetry on vase-painting or vice versa. It would be well to refrain from bringing them into the argument until some incontrovertible connection is made out.
7. The influence of Stesichorus' (?) *Helen* is perhaps to be recognized in Ibycus' Polycrates poem, which dates from the forties or thirties of the sixth century.[24]
8. Stesichorus spoke of a total eclipse of the sun (*PMGF* 271), perhaps in a paean, if the existence of paeans by him is rightly read out of Timaeus 566 F 32 (*PMGF* 276). Astronomers apart,

[23] Geryones, in relation to Stesichorus, is the subject of a detailed study by Martin Robertson in *CQ* 19 (1969), 207–21.

[24] Cf. *ZPE* 4 (1969), 149 (=below, p. 105); *CQ* 20 (1970), 208.

> nobody talks about eclipses except when they happen. It is not likely to have been the eclipse of 28 May 585 (Schmid–Stählin), which was not total in Greece south of Thessaly or in Italy south of Tarentum. It is likely to have been the one of 19 May 557, whose narrow path of totality crossed the toe of Italy a few miles north of Locri and then Ozolian Locris, the northern Peloponnese, and Attica. No other total eclipse was visible as such in South Italy or Sicily in the seventh or sixth century.[25]

Leaving aside the constructions of ancient chronography, none of this evidence indicates that Stesichorus was active any earlier than 570, and some of it points more to the period 560–540. His working life may have been long; but it seems likely that it fell wholly within the sixth century.

In a moment we will start to look into the nature of his poetry and the manner of its performance. Just before we do, it may be noted that he did not stand alone. There are traces of an Italian tradition. We have some direct knowledge of Ibycus, the heroic side of whose poetry has clear enough connections with Stesichorus for us to regard it as a legacy of his Italian training.[26] There was at least a third South Italian poet who wrote lyric poems of the type we are interested in: Xenocritus or Xenocrates of Locri, who was considered by Glaucus of Rhegium to be later than Thaletas (who was himself later than Archilochus). He was a *ποιητὴς ἡρωικῶν ὑποθέσεων πράγματα ἐχουσῶν*, which some classed as paeans and others as dithyrambs (ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 9–10). Then there was one Xanthus, a *μελοποιός*, whose home town is not recorded. Megaclides stated that Stesichorus both named him and made much use of him: *πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Ξάνθου παραπεποίηκεν ὁ Στησίχορος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν Ὀρεστείαν καλουμένην* (*PMG* 699). There seems a good chance that he too was a westerner.

[25] See the charts in F. K. Ginzel, *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse für das Ländergebiet der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften und den Zeitraum von 900 v. Chr. bis 600 n. Chr.* (Berlin 1899).

[26] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker* (Berlin 1900), 33 n. 2; Bowra (as n. 8), 242 f., 252 ff.; *ZPE* (as n. 24).

[307] STESICHORUS AND THE CITHARODES

We must now examine section 3 of the *De musica*, where a historical survey by Heraclides Ponticus (fr. 157 Wehrli) is summarized. It is necessary to bear in mind the distinction prevailing in Heraclides' time between two kinds of performer of old poetry, the rhapsode who declaimed it and the citharode who sang it to the lyre.[s3] Plato, in a passage where he distinguishes *αὔλησις*, *κιθάρισις*, and *ῥαψωιδία*, classes Homer's Phemius as a rhapsode (*Ion* 533b), although he used the lyre. Whatever the reason, it cannot have been very strong, for Heraclides includes Phemius, with Demodocus and Thamyris, in a list of early citharodes beginning with Amphion and Linus. The *λέξις* of their poems, he says, was not *λελυμένη* and *μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσα*—meaning not in the free, astrophic style of people like Timotheus[27]—but was like that of Stesichorus and the *ἀρχαῖοι μελοποιοί* who composed verse and clothed it with melody. For Terpander too, when he composed citharodic nomes, used melody as a clothing for verses, both his own and Homer's.

Presently (section 4, no longer given on Heraclides' authority) we hear that Terpander composed *προοίμια κιθαρωιδικὰ ἐν ἔπεσιν*, and later (6) that the ancient citharodes *τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς βούλονται ἀφοσιωσάμενοι ἐξέβαινον εὐθὺς ἐπί τε τὴν Ὁμήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποίησιν· δῆλον δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι διὰ τῶν Τερπάνδρου προοιμίων*. We possess a number of rhapsodes' *προοίμια*, collectively ascribed to Homer, and from the formulae of transition with which they end we might say of the rhapsodes exactly what pseudo-Plutarch says of the citharodes. There existed, evidently, a corresponding set of citharodic prooimia addressed to the gods, closing with formulae of transition suitable for following excerpts from the epics, and collectively ascribed to Terpander.[28] The opening of one of them has come down to us:

ἀμφί μοι αὖτε ἄναχθ' ἑκαταβόλον ἀειδέτω φρήν.[29]

[27] See Proclus quoted below, p. 88, and Hephaestion p. 64. 24 Consbr.

[28] Wilamowitz, *Textgeschichte* (as n. 26), 7; id., *Timotheos. Die Perser* (Leipzig 1903), 92; Cic. *De orat.* 2. 325 *conexum autem ita sit principium consequenti orationi ut non tamquam citharoedi prooemium adfictum aliquid sed cohaerens cum omni corpore membrum esse uideatur.*

[29] *PMG* 697. (The sources give *αὖτις* or *αὖ τὸν*, but *αὖτε* must be right, cf. Stes. 193. 9 *δεῦρ' αὖτε θεὰ φιλόμολπε* and the Aristophanic prelude on which the scholiast quotes the 'Terpander', *Nub.* 595 *ἀμφί μοι αὖτε Φοῖβ' ἄναξ κτλ.*, which

The verses which were taken as proof that Terpander increased the lyre's strings from four to seven,

> σοὶ δ' ἡμεῖς τετράγηρυν ἀποστέρξαντες ἀοιδήν
> ἑπτατόνωι φόρμιγγι νέους κελαδήσομεν ὕμνους

(*PMG* p. 363; Terp. fr. 4 Gostoli), also probably come from a prooimion. They are usually regarded as a forgery designed to secure Terpander's authentication of the technical innovation ascribed to him by some.[30] There is an alternative possibility: that the lines come from the transition at the end of the prooimion, being parallel to e.g. *Hymn. Aphr.* 292 f.,

> χαῖρε θεὰ Κύπροιο ἐυκτιμένης μεδέουσα·
> σέο δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον.

If so, they may express, not a new phase in the history of music, but the transition from a piece played on four notes to one that called for seven.[s4] There was l[308] a nome known as the τετραοίδιος νόμος (ps.-Plut. 4, Poll. 4. 65, *Suda* ν 478), and there seems a possibility that it was used in prooimia, in order to establish the harmonic skeleton of the following, more elaborate exercise.[31] Since the prooimia collectively were ascribed to Terpander, and hardly anything else was, it is easy to see an origin for the belief that musicians down to his time had used only a four-stringed instrument.

The two lines just discussed are hexameters, and pseudo-Plutarch's ἐν ἔπεσιν implies that most of the collection was in hexameters.[32] [s5] The citharodes, like the rhapsodes, came to concentrate on performance instead of poesy and to use a fixed text of someone else's, especially Homer; becoming accustomed to sing hexameters, they developed the habit of composing their prooimia

does not construe and can only be explained as a quotation of a stereotyped formula.) The fifth century is suggested by the metre (cf. E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge*, i. 215 n. 1) and by the function attributed to φρήν (cf. Simon. *PMG* 519 fr. 35b. 10 = fr. 100. 15 Poltera; Pind. *Pyth.* 6. 36, *Pae.* 4. 50; Aesch. *Sept.* 966; *PMG* adesp. 955).

[30] Timotheus, *Pers.* 237, however, credits him with a ten-stringed lyre.

[31] A similar function is fulfilled by the *ālāpa* which precedes the performance of a *rāga* in classical Indian music. Cf. A. Bake in the *New Oxford History of Music*, i. *Ancient and Oriental Music* (Oxford 1957), 212 f.

[32] A hymn to various gods, in hexameters followed by a verse D–D–e– (Stob. 1. 1. 31 a+b), is regarded as a late citharodic prooimion by Wilamowitz, *Timotheos*, 91 n. 2.

in hexameters. The verse on Duris' well-known cup, shown written in a book being used in a tutorial, *ΜΟΙΣΑ ΜΟΙ ΑΦΙ* (*ἀμφὶ*) *ΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΕΥΡΩΝ* (*ἐύρροον*) *ΑΡΧΟΜΑΙ ΑΕΙΝΔΕΝ* (*ἀείδειν*) (*PMG* 938 (e)), is ungrammatical and cannot be a real quotation; but it was meant to represent something a boy might learn to sing to the lyre. (The boy in the picture is not holding a lyre, but one hangs on the wall, and lyre-playing is being taught adjacently.) It is a hexameter in the epic style with Aeolic (literary Doric) *Μοῖσα*.[33]

So when we hear that Terpander composed hexameter prooimia and set Homer to music, that is simply a projection back to the *πρῶτος εὑρετής* of the practices of citharodes of the classical period. It is part of the same construction that not only his prooimia but his nomes are said to have been hexametric.

Ps.-Plut. 4

πεποίηται δὲ τῶι Τερπάνδρωι καὶ προοίμια κιθαρωιδικὰ ἐν ἔπεσιν. ὅτι δ' οἱ κιθαρωιδικοὶ νόμοι οἱ πάλαι ἐξ ἐπῶν συνίσταντο, Τιμόθεος ἐδήλωσεν· τοὺς γοῦν πρώτους νόμους ἐν ἔπεσι διαμιγνύων διθυραμβικὴν λέξιν ἦιδεν, ὅπως μὴ εὐθὺς φανῆι παρανομῶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν μουσικήν.

Proclus *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 320b5

δοκεῖ δὲ Τέρπανδρος μὲν πρῶτος τελειῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἡρώιωι μέτρωι χρησάμενος. ἔπειτα Ἀρίων ... Φρῦνις δὲ ὁ Μυτιληναῖος ἐκαινοτόμησεν αὐτόν· τό τε γὰρ ἑξάμετρον τῶι λελυμένωι συνῆψε, καὶ χορδαῖς τῶν ἑπτὰ πλείοσιν ἐχρήσατο. Τιμόθεος δὲ ὕστερον εἰς τὴν νῦν αὐτὸν ἤγαγε τάξιν.

Of course there is no proof that Terpander's nomes were not hexametric, but it is more likely that the hexametric nomes are to be assigned to the singers of Homer, and that Terpander, clearly an eminent figure in Spartan music of the early seventh century, made his name by something more creative. He will have sung to the lyre heroic narratives[34] of his own composition, in metres of a

[33] Clement quotes a fragment of the *Little Iliad* in Aeolic or Doric form (14 West): could his source have used a citharode's text? One Zopyrus of Magnesia, and Dicaearchus, said that the *Iliad* ought to be read in Aeolic (*Appendix Romana* B 2, p. 456 West (*Homeric Hymns*, etc., Cambridge, Mass. 2003)): because *μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά* showed that Homer sang? Elegiacs too were probably coloured Doric when sung, cf. Eur. *Andr.* 103–16.

[34] Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 238c, *τὸν Τέρπανδρον ... ἄριστον ὄντα τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν κιθαρωιδῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρωικῶν πράξεων ἐπαινέτην*, *prima facie* refers to Terpander's own compositions. Cf. the notice of Xenocritus' poems on p. 85 above.

mainly dactylic cast but not in stichic hexameters. Even in the fifth century hexameters were not invariable, as we see from *ἀμφί μοι αὖτε ἄναχθ' ἑκαταβόλον* I[309] *ἀειδέτω φρήν* and from Ar. *Ran.* 1281 ff., where Aeschylean songs are exposed as made from citharodic nomes:

> *ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν δίθρονον κράτος Ἑλλάδος ἦβας—*
> *φλαττοθραττοφλαττοθρατ—*
> *Σφίγγα δυσαμεριᾶν πρύτανιν κύνα πέμπει,*

and the rest.

Heraclides knew of this older, creative citharody in which the performer composed his own words, and he ascribed it to Terpander (as well as the melodizing of Homer) and to Terpander's forerunners from Amphion on. His choice of Stesichorus and the *ἀρχαῖοι μελοποιοί* as an illustration is interesting, but does not prove that he thought of Stesichorus as a soloist. Nor is it necessarily significant that Chamaileon in a work on Stesichorus recorded that people used to set to music Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, and Phocylides.[35] But one reason for bringing in Stesichorus in discussing citharodes might be that he was thought to be, not indeed a 'citharode' (for a 'citharode' sang other people's verse, even in Terpander's time), but something analogous, a singing poet. Such an opinion can be supported by a fragment of the poet himself in which composer and singer are identified (*PMGF* 212):

> *τοιάδε χρὴ Χαρίτων δαμώματα καλλικόμων*
> *ὑμνεῖν Φρύγιον μέλος ἐξευρόντας ἁβρῶς*
> *ἦρος ἐπερχομένου.*

Modern writers assume almost universally that since Stesichorus composed in triads, he wrote for a chorus. The assumption is groundless (see below, p. 95), and our new knowledge of the length of his poems makes it all the more troublesome. One might imagine him accompanying a group of dancers, as Demodocus does in one of his three songs (*Od.* 8. 258, cf. *Il.* 18. 590 ff. with the full text of 604–5). Wilamowitz thought of this too (*SS* 238), remarking that it would be well described by what the *Suda* says, *ἐκλήθη δὲ Στησίχορος ὅτι πρῶτος κιθαρωιδίαι χορὸν ἔστησεν.* But the

[35] Ath. 620c. Cf. Wilamowitz, *SS* 239 n. 3.

chorus there is brought in to explain the poet's name; the significant thing is that when it is brought in, it is combined with citharody.[36]

THE NOMES

There is a further piece of evidence that takes us back to the late fifth century. Pseudo-Plutarch 7, discussing the ἁρμάτειος νόμος, says it was invented by the piper Olympus. ὅτι δ' ἐστὶν Ὀλύμπου ὁ ἁρμάτειος νόμος, ἐκ τῆς Γλαύκου συγγραφῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν (fr. 2 Lanata, *Poetica Pre-Platonica* 272) μάθοι ἄν τις, καὶ ἔτι γνοίη ὅτι Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος οὔτ' Ὀρφέα οὔτε Τέρπανδρον οὔτ' Ἀρχίλοχον οὔτε Θαλήταν ἐμιμήσατο, ἀλλ' Ὄλυμπον, χρησάμενος τῶι ἁρματείωι νόμωι καὶ τῶι κατὰ δάκτυλον εἴδει. Glaucus elsewhere linked Orpheus, Terpander, Archilochus, and Thaletas in one line of succession, which was continued by Xenocritus (ps.-Plut. 4+10=fr. 1+3 Lanata). Next in line one might expect Stesichorus, but Glaucus picks on a feature of Stesichorus' music in order to contradict precisely this notion—which must therefore have been the more obvious one.

The νόμοι, 'routines', 'conventions'—one might say 'canons' if that had not |[310] acquired another sense in music—seem in the early period to have been a set of traditional patterns in which music was cast. They had individual names, and the citharodic and citharistic nomes differed from the aulodic and auletic. Each had particular rhythmic and modal implications which gave it an individual character.[37] The statement in Proclus *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 320b18 that the nome differed from the dithyramb by being in the Lydian mode of the citharodes (the dithyramb being in Phrygian or Hypophrygian) must refer to ἡ νῦν τάξις for which Timotheus was responsible; the same applies to the distinction he has just made in rhythm and diction. This opposition between nome and dithyramb, as between genres on the same logical footing, is inapplicable to the early nomes. The

[36] A 'Stesichorus the citharode' appears with an 'Aeschylus the aulete' in *Suda* ε 2681 ('fort. Aelian.' Adler): ours? Cf. J. Vürtheim, *Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie* (Leiden 1919), 109 n. 1.

[37] *Suda* ν 478. Alcman applies the term to the characteristic songs of different birds, *PMGF* 40.

names known to us[38] and other evidence make it clear that they were schemes used for the singing of all kinds of verse, for epic, elegy,[39] iambus,[40] epinicians,[41] dithyrambs;[42] and for the poetry of Stesichorus.[s6]

Stesichorus, according to Glaucus, used the ἁρμάτειος νόμος. Glaucus had evidently heard performances which he believed to be faithful renderings of Stesichorus' original music, and, coming as he did from Rhegium, he may have been in a good position to hear them. He identified the nome as one attributed to Olympus, i.e. as an auletic one. There is a story that the ἁρμάτειος νόμος was played on the aulos to Alexander, who οὕτω παρεξέστη καὶ διεφλέγη τὸν θυμὸν ὑπὸ τῶν μελῶν ὥστε τοῖς ὅπλοις ἄιξας ἐπιβαλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ἐγγὺς παρακειμένοις (Plut. *Alex. fort. aut virt.* 335a; here too the nome has heroic qualities). The Phrygian's lament on the fall of Troy in Eur. *Or.* 1369ff., no doubt an aulody, is a ἁρμάτειον ἁρμάτειον μέλος (1384). The scholia on the line, among a number of arbitrary explanations of the term, give two details that are not derived from etymological speculation but show genuine musicological learning: it was the same as the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς, and it was high-pitched (i. 220. 1, 3, 5, 25 Schw., cf. *Et. magn.* 145. 34ff.). The νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς is mentioned as a nome of Olympus, or as an auletic nome, by pseudo-Plutarch 33 (who says it was in the Phrygian mode, and gives some other technical details) and by Pollux 4. 77. All this is consistent with Stesichorus' own reference to his *Oresteia* as a

[38] Mostly from ps.-Plut. 4, 7, 29, 33, Pollux 4. 65–83, Hesychius, and the *Suda*.

[39] ἔλεγοι is an aulodic nome, ps.-Plut. 4.

[40] Apollod. (244 F 264) *ap.* Hesych. π 927 s.v. παριαμβίδες. ἴαμβοι, (ἰαμβίδες,) παριαμβίδες, (-οι), are citharistic nomes designed for aulos accompaniment, Epicharmus fr. 108, Pollux 4. 65, 83, Phot. s.v. παρίαμβοι. It should be noted that for Epicharmus ἴαμβοι is a genre that may include anapaests, cf. fr. 77, with G. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1899), 87.

[41] Pind. *Ol.* 1. 102.

[42] The aulodic σχοινιὼν νόμος (ps.-Plut. 4) is apparently alluded to at the beginning of Pindar's second Dithyramb (fr. 70b): πρὶν μὲν ἔρπε σχοινοτένειά τ' ἀοιδὰ διθυράμβων | καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων. The ancients found here a reference to Lasus' asigmatic ode; and there is a connection. The explanation of Lasus' fastidiousness is given by Aristoxenus (fr. 87 W.) *ap.* Ath. 467a: the *s*-sound was σκληρόστομον and ἀνεπιτήδειον αὐλῶι, i.e. it was not conducive to distinct hearing of the words against the pipe, because the pipe was too like it. Pindar is saying that in the traditional dithyramb in the aulodic σχοινιὼν νόμος the *s* did not come out true from men's mouths, it did not live up to its promise, because of the pipe accompaniment. His new dithyramb has quite a different sound, justified by a vision of a Dionysiac rite among the gods, with drums, κρόταλα, and wild cries.

Φρύγιον μέλος (*PMGF* 212. 2). We need not, however, conclude that he sang to the aulos, for there was also a citharistic νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς (Pollux 4. 66). It was not necessarily identical with the auletic, but it may have been similar enough for l[311] Glaucus, wishing to prove a point, to identify it with Olympus' ἁρμάτειος and draw a novel inference about Stesichorus' affinities. If he had had reason to think that the poems were aulodies, he would surely have appealed directly to this fact in order to argue the connection with Olympus, instead of to the particularity of the nome—though it would hardly have been left to him to make the connection, and the view which he contradicts (that Stesichorus was a follower of Orpheus, Terpander, and Archilochus) would never have been current.

Stesichorus, then, was a citharode. Glaucus seems to say that the ἁρμάτειος νόμος was his only or at least his regular nome, and as his works, so far as we can tell, were generally alike in nature, purpose, and rhythm,[43] we have no reason to expect that a variety of nomes were used. Glaucus links the ἁρμάτειος νόμος with τὸ κατὰ δάκτυλον εἶδος, and the name is perhaps descriptive of the kind of motion that was suggested by dactylo-dactylo-epitrite verse of the Stesichorean type: bucketing along, not quite evenly, bumping to a halt at the end of a long run. The picture cannot be dissociated from the idea of the poet's chariot of song (Bacch. 5. 176, Pind. *Ol.* 6. 22 ff., both dactylo-epitrite; cf. Parm. 1, Emp. 3. 5), to which πεζός expresses the antithesis (Soph. fr. 16 with Pearson).[s7] Rhythmical terms like τροχαῖος, χωλός, and σκάζων also characterize types of verse in terms of locomotion.

RHYTHM AND MELODY

In analysing Stesichorus' metres[44] I observed that the substitution of – for ∪ ∪ in dactylic sequences is restricted. An important part is played by cola d^1 (– ∪ ∪ –), D (– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –), D^2 (– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –

[43] There is a possibility of extensive agreement in rhythms, and so perhaps in melody, between the strophe of the *Iliou Persis* and that of the poem (*Helen?*) represented in P. Oxy. 2735 fr. 1 [Ibycus S166]: *ZPE* 4 (1969), 145 (=below, p. 101). But see R. Führer, *ZPE* 5 (1970), 15 f., for other reconstructions.

[44] *ZPE* loc. cit. Führer in the article just cited brings valuable modifications to the metrical scheme of the *Iliou Persis*. See further *ZPE* 7 (1971), 262.

∪ ∪ –), in which such substitution is largely avoided, and within the period accumulation of more than three long syllables does not occur. The avoidance of accumulated longs was not, I believe, merely the consequence of an aversion to 'heaviness' but has a musical significance. In the music of Stesichorus' time each syllable was sung on a single note. The practice of dividing long syllables between more than one note became common among the avant-garde of the later fifth century.[45] Simonides may have done it occasionally,[46] but it must have been alien to the traditional music that was regarded as the antithesis of the new music, and of which Stesichorus was considered a sterling representative.[s8] So where ∪ ∪ alternates with – in a Stesichorean melody we may infer that the two short syllables were sung on the same note. Conversely, where ∪ ∪ does not admit the alternative –, a sufficient reason would be that those two short syllables were sung on different notes. If Stesichorus had designed his music in such a way as to allow himself free substitution of – for ∪ ∪ in any position, a considerable |[312] limitation would have been placed on melodic freedom and variety. The implications of this, in relation to the observed tendencies in the distribution of 'monosyllabic biceps', are:

1. At the beginning of the period it was not Stesichorus' practice to set initial ∪ ∪ on different notes; the melodic line began its movement at a later point.
2. Within the period a certain mobility was maintained. The music tended to settle down into melodic phrases varying in length from d^1 to D^2, the intermediate length D being particularly common.

The avoidance of monosyllabic biceps at period-end, however, need not mean that the last ∪ ∪ was habitually set on a falling or rising cadence. Consider the epic hexameter, which is akin to the kind of verse used by Stesichorus, its basic structure being D ⏑⏑ D –. It developed as a recitation metre; classical citharodes sang it, but

[45] Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1348; I. Henderson in the *New Oxford History of Music*, i. 368 f., 393 f.

[46] *PMG* 543. 9 = fr. 271 Poltera κνοώσσεις (if that is the right reading, and if it is not a genuine uncontracted form) and 587 = 296 P. πύυρ show a prosodic division of a long syllable which *may* have gone with a melodic division, but was not necessary for it (by later standards) and does not entail it. It would not be surprising if Simonides occasionally did something that later became standard; Mozart has the occasional crashing dissonance.

its normal melody was that of speech.[47] Accordingly it admits monosyllabic biceps in every position and in accumulation; even wholly spondaic lines occur. But there remains one position where it admits it relatively rarely: the last. In only about one verse in twenty is the fifth foot a spondee. In the elegiac pentameter (= D | D) spondees in the second colon are avoided entirely, at least at the literary level. These restrictions are analogous to what we find in Stesichorus' dactyls, and clearly call for a non-musical explanation. It may have been felt that a clausula only sounded satisfactory, and like a clausula, when it stood out as a modification of the basic rhythm, which therefore needed to be asserted immediately before it.

TRIADIC STRUCTURE

The *Suda*, in interpreting the saying *οὐδὲ (τὰ) τρία Στησιχόρου γινώσκεις*, says that all Stesichorus' poetry was triadic (*PMGF* 275b), and the *Geryoneis*, *Iliou Persis*, and (?) *Helen* have turned out to conform to the rule. The performer sang a sequence of melodic periods, with lyre continuo.[48] A group of such periods made up a melodic whole which, when it was complete, was repeated; and then a different melody (with similar rhythms) followed, giving the feeling of rounding-off in a still larger unit. Whether Stesichorus was the first to formalize the principle, we cannot say. But the basic architectural formula AAB can be found in more than one earlier lyric poet and may be regarded as a traditional pattern in Greek melodic structure.[49]

Often the B is an expanded version of the A. In Alcman fr. 1 the repeated sequence 2 *tr* ‖ × – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – ‖ is expanded into a sequence of ten trochaic metra followed by a longer series of dactyls and the same clausula (6 *da* – ∪ – – with 6 *da* – ∪ ∪ – as a variant). In the Sapphic and Alcaic stanzas, B is almost the sum of two A's:

[47] Hence the preservation of ancient accentuations down to Alexandrian times. Cf. Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* 1094 ff.

[48] We gather from Aristophanes (cf. p. 89) that all Aeschylus needs to turn his songs into citharodic nomes is a bit of *phlattothrat* between the periods.

[49] See D. Korzeniewski, *Griechische Metrik* (Darmstadt 1968), 12 and 129 f.

	Sapphic	A	– ∪ – × – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – × ‖
		A	– ∪ – × – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – × ‖
		B	– ∪ – × – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – × – ∪ ∪ – × ‖‖
313	Alcaic	A	× – ∪ – × | – ∪ ∪ – | ∪ – ‖
		A	× – ∪ – × | – ∪ ∪ – | ∪ – ‖
		B	× – ∪ – × – ∪ – × | – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – | ∪ – – ‖‖ [50]

These internal relationships give the whole melodic structure an effective shape. But their effect depends on the contrast of trochaic and dactylic rhythm, and the limited scale of the whole. In the larger structures and simpler rhythms of Stesichorus they would not have been so effective, and analysis shows that they are not there. When A was mainly a river of dactyls, expansion was not the kind of consummation wanted. The epode need be no longer than the strophe, just different. We observe some rhythmic differences: in the *Geryoneis* the periods all begin ∪ ∪ – in the strophe, but two out of three in the epode begin – ∪ ∪ ; in the *Iliou Persis* the clausula ∪ ∪ – – does not occur in the strophe, but five times in the epode (which is altogether characterized by short periods). The nature of the melodic variation is beyond ken.

It is sometimes supposed that triadic structure has an essential connection with dancing and was somehow imposed on the poet by the evolutions of the dance. In fact it can be understood as a purely musical principle of composition, as I hope the above remarks will have made clear. If a chorus was dancing to triadically composed music, one would suppose that it arranged its doings accordingly. But the fact that Stesichorus' poetry is triadic is no evidence that it was choral.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

Here is how I see the development of narrative singing in so far as it concerns Stesichorus. In early times heroic poetry might be intoned, with or without musical accompaniment and space-filling; or it might be sung in the true sense. In the first case, hexameters were

[50] Cf. also Alc. 130, Sapph. 94; my *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982), 32 f.

used, at least in Ionia; in the second case, more varied dactylic measures. The Homeric Demodocus and Phemius may be portraits of either kind of artist. Demodocus used a prooimion to a god before his tale of the Wooden Horse (*Od.* 8. 499); so did the classical citharode, and so did the rhapsode. It was possible for Plato to put Phemius in the one category and for Heraclides to put him in the other.

But the melic style may not have flourished in Ionia. Terpander is the great name, and Doric dialect colouring remains the rule. From the mainland—from Sparta, perhaps, or Locris—the art came to the west. There, in the late seventh or early sixth century, an important development took place which affected the appearance of history. People took to writing such compositions down (if not up). Consequently, whereas Terpander was known only for the collection of citharodes' prooimia and perhaps a few other short pieces, whole melic narratives of Italian poets were preserved: of Xanthus (if that is where he lived), Xenocritus, Stesichorus, Ibycus. Antiquity did not generally treat these poets as 'citharodes', because that term had come to mean something else, a performer who sang a 'Terpandrian' prooimion followed by a piece of Homer or another of the standard poets. But investigators such as Heraclides and Chamaileon may have known that there was a relationship.

Stesichorus sang for potentates (P. Oxy. 2735 fr. 1=Ibycus S166) and for the people I[314] (cf. *PMGF* 212 *δαμώματα*). He will have begun his performance with a prooimion to a god. Those who ascribed to him the hymn beginning

Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινὴν θεὸν ἐγρεκύδοιμον

(*PMG* 735) may have been mistaken, but they will have known similar openings by him. When Aristides, who read Stesichorus, says *μέτειμι δ' ἐφ' ἕτερον προοίμιον κατὰ Στησίχορον* (*PMGF* 241), he may be inaccurately echoing a transition from a Stesichorean prooimion, something on the lines of *χαῖρ' ἄναξ· τεοῦ δὲ προοιμίου ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον.*

After the prooimion, the main song. If what Stesichorus sang matched in length what he wrote out, a work such as the *Geryoneis* would have taken him well over an hour to perform; no doubt he rested at intervals, like Demodocus (*Od.* 8. 87 ff.), but even so he must have had a good voice, with a naturally high register, to sustain the nome of Athena for such a time.

His productivity, his talent, and his diligence in giving his compositions written circulation made him a classic in Simonides' lifetime. But the day of the creative citharode, like that of the creative rhapsode,[51] was nearly done. Stesichorus had not come down to setting Homer to music, but he was leaning heavily on existing epics. The process could not be continued indefinitely. There was little scope for further work on the traditional lines. Much of the material had been used up (Choerilus' complaint in the field of hexameter epic); the artistic revolution pushed the old nomes into the background, and though they could still be heard towards the end of the fourth century, later writers knew them only from books. The fashion was for a more flexible, expressive music that could follow the sense of the words and highlight particular details. Yet the change was not so sudden as to destroy the sense of continuity. The new compositions were still called nomes and dithyrambs; Timotheus represented himself as the heir of Terpander; and the poet of an aulodic *Cyclops* chose the title Stesichorus of Himera the Second.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. I should add Euclides (*IG* 14. 1213; *Suda* σ 1095). He is named as one of the founders of Himera, Thuc. 6. 5. 1.
2. On the name Helianax cf. *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 624.
3. For what follows cf. *JHS* 101 (1981), 113 f. = *Hellenica* i. 129 f.
4. Cf. *JHS* 101 (1981), 116 = *Hellenica* i. 134.
5. Cf. Timotheus *PMG* 788 (the hexameter opening of his *Persai*) and Mesomedes' invocation of Calliope and Apollo, *DAGM* no. 25 (two hexameters + lekythion).
6. On the nomes see my *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992), 215–17, 339.
7. For further passages on the chariot of song, and Indo-Iranian parallels, see my *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007), 41–3.
8. For a more considered treatment of the question of dividing syllables between notes see *Ancient Greek Music*, 201–4.

[51] People often assume that ῥαψωιδός *meant* a reciter of fixed texts as opposed to the earlier, creative poet. That is certainly what rhapsodes *were* in Plato's time and earlier, and ῥαψωιδέω came to mean 'recite'; but 'stitcher of song' implies the formulaic technique of creative poets. Another thing that is often forgotten is that epic composition in the traditional style flourished unabated well into the fifth century. The real change to 'pen-poet technique' did not come when epic poets first took up pens; it came after Panyassis, with Choerilus and Antimachus.

9

Stesichorea

I. STESICHORUS AT SPARTA

Introducing P. Oxy. 2735, Mr Lobel writes: 'Not much profit, that I see, is to be drawn from the collection of scraps printed under this number . . . what has survived is so discontinuous—palaeographical considerations make it reasonable to suppose that the fragments represent no small extent of writing, perhaps more than one manuscript—that it affords little or no information about subject or treatment, structure, or metre.'

Yet the first of the scraps so discouragingly advertised turns out under scrutiny to be one of the most interesting new pieces of Greek poetry to come to light in recent years. The strophic responsion is soon fixed:

str.		8	29
ant.		15	36
ep.	1	22	

Twenty-one verses to the triad. With some conjectural supplementation, the scheme appears as follows:

str. 1 – ∪ ∪] – ∪ ∪ – ∪ | – ∪ – [– ⁀ – ∪ ∪ –
2 ∪ ∪] – ⏖ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – [– ‖
3 – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – | ⏓ – ∪ [∪ – ∪ ∪ – – ‖
4 – ∪] ∪ – ∪ ∪ –
5 ⏖ –] ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ | – ∪ ∪ [
6 – ∪] ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ⁝ ⏓ ⁀ ∪ [∪ – ∪ ∪ –
7 –] – ∪ – – |||

I, from 'Stesichorus Redivivus', *ZPE* 4 (1969), 135–49, at 142–9, with footnotes numbered 5–8; II, 'Stesichorus at Lille', *ZPE* 29 (1978), 1–4; III, from 'Melica', *CQ* 20 (1970), 205–15, at 206.

ep. 1 (–) – ∪] ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ | . [. . .
2 – ∪ ∪] – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – [. . .
3 – ∪ ∪] – | ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – [∪ ∪ (– ⏑⏑ – ∪ ∪ ?)
4 – ∪ ∪ –] ⏑⏑ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – [⏑⏑ – ∪ ∪
5 – ∪] ∪ – ⏑⏑ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ [∪ – (⏑⏑ – ∪ ∪ – ?)
6 ∪ ∪ – ⏑⏑] – ∪ – – ‖
7 ⏑⏑ –] ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – [. . . ∪ – – |||

|[143] Something must here be said about the basis for the supplements, and about Stesichorean metre in general. Thanks to the new papyri we can now contemplate the entire metrical structure of two Stesichorean poems. That of the *Geryoneis* is wholly dactylic. In Snell's notation:

str. ∪ ∪ 3 $da_{\wedge}$ ‖ ∪ ∪ 8 $da_{\wedge}$ ‖ ∪ ∪ 5 $da_{\wedge}$ ‖ ∪ ∪ 14 $da_{\wedge\,\wedge}$ |||
ep. ∪ ∪ 7 $da_{\wedge}$ | 13 $da_{\wedge}$ | 7 $da_{\wedge\wedge}$ |||

That of the *Iliou Persis* may be described as dactylo-dactylo-dactylo-epitrite. In Maas's notation:[1]

str. – ⏑⏑ D^2 | – D | ⏑ D ⁝ ⏑⏑ e – ‖ D | – D | ⏑⏑ D ⁝ ⏑⏑ D ⁝ – D^2 | ⏑ D | – e – |||
ep. – D ∪ ∪ D – ‖ ⏑⏑ D | ⏑⏑ D | ⏑ D – ‖ – ⏑⏑ d^1 | ⏑ D – ‖ D – ‖ D ⁝ – e – ‖ ⏔ D | – D ⁝ – e – ‖ – D – ‖ D^2 – |||

It is not arbitrary to write, for example, D | – D | ⏑⏑ D ⁝ ⏑⏑ D ⁝ ∪∪ D^2 | instead of 16 $da_{\wedge\wedge}$, for the D and D^2 cola are distinctly marked off by the occurrence of ⏑ or ⏑⏑ between them (– for ∪ ∪ not being admitted within them), as well as by caesura (a word never runs over from D to D). The link is normally ⏑⏑, not ⏑ as in Pindar, but the latter does occur. A long link syllable is not divided by word-break from the following colon, even when the normal caesura before it is absent.

Papyrus fragments from other poems give a similar picture. P. Oxy. 2359 (*PMGF* 222; *Syotherai*?) is all dactylic so far as can be seen. In two others, dactyls predominate but trochaic cola appear among them; the D-colon is prominent. We can see this much of the strophe of 2360 (*PMGF* 209):[2]

[1] I use D^2 (instead of Dd^2) for the sequence – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – : for convenience, and because there is no reason to treat it as a compound.

[2] I follow the reconstruction of R. Merkelbach in *Maia* 15 (1963), 165 f. = *Philologica* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1997), 68 f., with two qualifications. I read κατέπτατο in i 4

1	– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪] – ǀ ⏑̲ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – ‖	D ǀ ⏑̲ D – ‖
2	– ∪ – ⏑̲ – ∪ – ⏑̲ – ∪ – – ‖	e ⏑̲ E – ‖
3	– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ǀ ⏑̲ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – ‖	D ǀ ⏑̲ D – ‖
4	– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ǀ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ǀ	D ∪ ǀ D ǀ
ǀ[144] 5	⏑̲ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ǀ ⏑̲ – ∪ ∪ – [∪ ∪ – (–)	⏑̲ D ǀ ⏑̲ D (–?)
6	] – – ∪ – – [	] – e – [
7	– ∪ ∪] – ∪ ∪ – ǀ ⏑̲ – ∪ ∪ [– ∪ ∪] – ǀ	D ǀ ⏑̲ D ǀ
8	]. . . ∪ –	
9	] – – ∪ – – ‖‖	] – e – ‖‖

The same cola are recognizable in 2618 (*PMGF* S148; *Eriphyle*?); in *PMGF* 210 (~ 212) and 219 (*Oresteia*); in 223 (incertae sedis).[3]

And what about the dactyls of the *Geryoneis*? The following scheme shows where and with what frequency 'monosyllabic biceps' occurs. (Superior figures [2] and [3] signify two / three instances; ⏑̅ by itself signifies a single instance.)

str.	1	⏑̅[2] – ⏑̅ – ∪ ∪ – – ‖
	2/3	⏑̅ – ∪ ∪ – ⋮ ⏑̅[2] – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ⋮ ⏑̅[2] – ∪ ∪ – – ‖
	4/5	⏑̅[3] – ∪ ∪ – ⋮ ⏑̅[3] – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – ‖
	6/9	⏑̅[3] – ⏑̅ – ⏑̅ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ǀ ⏑̅[2] – ∪ ∪ –
		⏑̅ – ∪ ∪ – ǀ ⏑̅[2] – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ‖‖
ep.	1/2	⏑̅ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ⏑̅ – ∪ ∪ – – ‖
	3/6	– ⏑̅ – ⏑̅ – ⏑̅ – ⏑̅ ǀ – ⏑̅ – ⏑̅ – ∪ ∪ – ⏑̅ ǀ –
		⏑̅ – ⏑̅ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – ‖
	7/8	– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ‖‖

The distribution is not random. In the strophe, where the evidence is naturally more abundant, 23 instances are restricted to 12 positions. Two principles may provisionally be formulated:

(cf. R. Führer, *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Munich 1967), 117); and I do not see the justification for using col. ii as evidence for the strophe, so I give a less complete scheme than Merkelbach. The poem has been assumed to be the *Nostoi*, but the amplitude of the narrative may suggest a separate *Odyssey*. [*Syotherai*: see now Führer, *Hermes* 97 (1969), 115 f.]

[3] 223 as printed by Page scans D ǀ – D ǀ ∪ D – ‖ e – E ǀ ∪ D ∪ ǀ d[1] ∪ – – ǀ 2 da. My conjecture ἐ̓τίθεϵι for τίθησι (*Phil.* 110 (1966), 152) would give the simpler rhythm ∪ D ∪ ǀ D ǀ 2 da at the end. The new papyri make a historic present look even less likely in Stesichorus. However, I should have considered the possibility that the verses come from a speech.

1. Accumulation of more than three long syllables within the period does not occur. Thus when – stands for ∪∪ at the beginning of a period, as is frequent, the following biceps remains disyllabic. There is then a tendency for the third to be monosyllabic (str. 2, 4, 8), and again the fifth (str. 9).
2. Monosyllabic biceps being forbidden (by rule 1) in the clausula – ∪∪ – –, it is all the more likely to occur just before it (str. 1, 3).

As in other poems I have spoken of the monosyllabic biceps marking off D-cola, so here we may express its localizations by analysing e.g. str. 2–5 as ⏑⏑ d^1 ⁝ ⏑⏑ D ⁝ ⏑⏑ d^1 – ‖ ⏑⏑ d^1 ⁝ ⏑⏑ D – ‖.

I[145] No one who read Stesichorus in quantity could fail to be aware of the rhythmic succession of cola and the natural pauses where the rhythm was broken. The ancient colometry was sensibly done, even if not faultless. Returning to 2735: given a fragment

]∪ – ∪∪ – ⏑̲ – ∪ [
] – ∪ – –

(str. 6–7), we recognize the sequence D ⏑̲ D – e – (also found in the *Oresteia* and *Iliou Persis*); and we can feel sure how it was distributed between the lines: D ⏑̲ D, – e –. At the beginning of the strophe we have

. . .] – ∪∪ – ∪ – ∪ – [
. . .] – ⏑⏑ – ∪∪ – ∪ – [

Here the link-element ⏑⏑ appears unnaturally early in the second line, and it can be inferred that the preceding colon has been split between the lines: D ∪ e [– D] ⏑⏑ . . . divided D ∪ e [– – ∪∪ –, ∪∪ –] ⏑⏑ . . .

Such are the principles on which I have attempted to complete the metre of the strophe, encouraged by the observation that from the second line to the end the scheme that I arrived at was virtually identical with the latter part (third line to the end) of the strophe of the *Iliou Persis*. (There is one difference in the division of cola: the syllable that begins the fifth line of the strophe in the *Iliou Persis* here appears at the end of the preceding line.) It seems that early on in the composition of the first strophe of whichever was the later poem, Stesichorus slipped on a familiar cadence into a melody he had used before.

The epode is more difficult. A displaced link-element in both the fourth and fifth lines gives a clue there, but in the first three lines and the last there is nothing to tell us how much to restore on the right-hand side.

Now for a text. The supplements suggested have been checked for length by means of tracings. The figures in parenthesis at the beginnings of lines give the estimated number of letters missing before the bracket or before the supplement printed.

(11) – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪]. δᾱ̣κ̣τον ἐχῳ̣[
5 (5) – ∪ ὑπ' α]ὐ̣λητῆρος ἀείδο[ν
(10) ∪ ∪ – ∪̄∪̄] ἁβρὰ π[α]ι̣τῶς
(6) ∪ ∪ – πό]θος οἷά τ' ἔρωτος [

(str.) (8) – ∪ ∪ ο]ιο κατ' αἶσαν ὡς [∪ – – – ∪ ∪ –
(9) ∪ ∪ – ∪]ατον τέλος ἀσφ[∪ – –
10 (8) – ∪ ∪]ᾱ δύνασις· κρατ[– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –
|146 (6) – ∪]ύ̣νοι μέγα δαί-
μ (4) – –] πολὺν ὄλβον ἐδώ[καν ἄφθιτον
οἷς κ' ἐθ]έλωσιν ἔχεν, τοῖς δ' α[ὖτ' ἀνὰ πάντ' ἐβάλον
βουλα]ῖσι Μοιρᾶν.

(ant.) 15 οἳ δ' ἄρα] Τυνδαρίδ[αι]σι λαγέ[ται συνηλύθον ἐσ-
συμέν]ο̣ι, σάλπιγγος ὅκ' ἐν κε[λευσμόν
Κάστορί] θ' ἱπποδάμωι καὶ π[ὺξ ἀγαθῶι Πολυδεύκει
πρόφρον]ες ἀντιθέοι
ποιπνύο]ν ὀπάονες, οἷσιν ἕσπ̣[ετο
20 (6) – ∪ ∪]εἰ μεγάλα Χρύσαιγις [ἰοῖσι μάχαν
ἐς πωλυ]καδέα.

(ep.) καὶ τὸ] μὲν οὐ φατόν ἐστιν ϵ[
(7) – ∪ ∪]ων τεκέεσσι· σὲ δ' αὖ[
(7) – ∪ ∪]ϵν καταδέρκεται ἀ[έλιος
25 (7) – ∪ ∪]τα κάλλιστον ἐπιχθ[ονίων
ἀθανάτ]οις ἐναλίγκιον εἶδο[ς
(8) ∪ ∪ – ∪̄∪̄]ς ἄλλος οὑτῶς
(4) ∪ ∪ οὔτ'] ἀν' Ἰάονας οὔτ' ᾳ̣[

(str.) (6) – ∪ ∪ κ]υδιάνειραν α[ἰ]ὲν̣ [– – – ∪ ∪ –
30 (4) ∪ ∪ – Λακ]ε̣δαίμονα ναίο[– –
(7) – ∪ ∪]ες τε χοροῖς ἵππο[ισί τε – ∪ ∪ – –
πὰρ μὲν ὁρ]ᾶν βαθὺν Εὐ-
ρώταν, περ]ί τ' ἀμφί τε, θαῦμα [κάλλεος,

(8) – ∪ ∪] ἄλσεα λαχνάεντ' ἐλ[ατᾶν ∪ ∪ –
(7) – – ∪ κά]πους·

(ant.) ἔνθα παλαι]μοσύνāι τε καὶ δρ[όμωι – – ∪ ∪ –
(5) ∪ ∪ – ταχ]υτᾶτ' ἐς ἀγῶν' ἐπᾱσ[κ –
(8) – ∪ ∪ –]ν πατέρων ἰδήρα[τ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –
(9) – ∪ ∪ – ∪]νια
(9) – – ∪ ∪ –]γε θεῶν [π]άρ', ἔστι δὲ [
(9) – ∪ ∪] ἐσσα[μένα] Θέμις κα[∪ – ∪ ∪ –
– – ∪ – –]

I[147] 1–7 (epode). Description of luxurious living: perhaps Paris at Troy on the eve of the war.

8–14 (strophe). Moralizing. The gods give prosperity, but also destroy it. The syntax in 10–12 is puzzling. The only case of δαίμων that there is space for is the nominative singular. μέγα δαίμων might be a sentence (like μέγα γείτονι γείτων, Alcman 123); but that would involve changing ἐδώκαν (implied by pap. ἐδώ[) to (ὅς]) . . . ἔδω[κεν, and]ελωσιν to ἐθ]έλησιν. 14, cf. *PMGF* 209 i 8 βο]υλαῖς Ἀθάνας, Ibycus S151. 4 Ζη]νὸς μεγάλοιο βουλαῖς.

15–21 (antistrophe). Preparations for war. 17 after *Il.* 3. 237, *Od.* 11. 300, quoted by Lobel. This verse is the best measure of the amount of text to be restored on the left. 18/19, there is synapheia between these lines, cf. 11/12; so the verb must begin with a consonant. 20]εῖ, presumably some adverb, e.g. ἀμ]εῖ. (Stesichorus has αὐτεῖ in S88 ii 10.) χρύσαιγις by itself may stand for Athena: I cannot fit in another name, unless Παλλάς stood before]εῖ.

22–8 (epode). Stesichorus breaks off his narrative. He is not going to tell of the war. Instead he turns to the praises of a handsome addressee. We are irresistibly reminded of Ibycus' Polycrates poem (S151):

> καὶ τὰ μὲν ἂν Μοίσαι σεσοφισμέναι
> εὖ Ἑλικωνίδες ἐμβαίεν λόγωι,
> †θνατὸς δ' οὔ κεν ἀνὴρ
> διερὸς τὰ ἕκαστα εἴποι, κτλ.

Stesichorus may be saying 'But that cannot be told properly by the children of mortals', or alternatively 'except by the children of immortals'. ἀθανάτ]ων would fill the space; cf. Homer's descent from Apollo and Calliope, or his birth from the river Meles. 22, the metre might equally well be – – ∪], but καὶ τοῦτο] (e.g.) would certainly be too long. 24, a D-colon cannot end in the middle of

καταδέρκεται, so κατα must represent the link-element, displaced as in the next two lines. 27, 'And no other is so . . . either among Ionians or . . .'.

In the next triad Stesichorus passes on to a general encomium of Sparta. 30, ναίο[ν, ναίο[μεν, ναίο[μαι seem the only possibilities, all awkward. 34, αὔξεται], ἐστέφατ'] are too short. The initial must be a vowel. 37, if the papyrus is read as επᾱσ[, presumably ἐπάσ[κει, of some past hero (38 ἀμετέρω]ν πατέρων?); the macron might also be taken for a grave, implying infinitive ἐπὰσ[κέν. 40,]γ or]τ. I have divided θεῶν [π]άρ', ἔστι δέ to match the caesura in 12, 19, and l[148] probably 33.

It looks very much as if the poem is nearing its end (especially with the parallel of the Ibycus poem), and I am prepared to guess that there were only eight more verses after 41. What poem was it? The narrative ends where the Trojan War begins, and it ends with the Tyndaridai. It must have been one of the Helen poems. It was not either of the Palinodes, for they both began with the rhythm – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ (*PMGF* 193). There is some likelihood that it was the *Helen* itself. There is a difficulty, in that a quotation from that poem in Athenaeus (*PMGF* 187) is not easily accommodated even in the incomplete metrical scheme of our epode. It scans e ∪ D – D ∪ ⋮ D ∪ ⋮ D ⋮ ∪ D –. The question had better be left open; and it may be well to remember that if '26 books' in the *Suda* notice of Stesichorus means 26 titles, there are a number that we do not know.

Among the 53 other fragments of 2735 I can only find three that show signs of belonging to the same poem as fr. 1. (Another, fr. 45 = *PMGF* Ibycus S209, shows a seven-line strophe or epode, but this may have been a feature of several poems.) The strongest candidate is fr. 16 (S181). What can be seen of its thirteen lines suits str. 1–ant. 6; and a scholion names Procles and Eurysthenes, the founders of the two royal houses of Sparta. Fr. 13 (S178) would fit ant. 7–str. 6, and fr. 28 (S193) str./ant. 2–7. Another fragment worth mentioning in the light of our new picture of the poet, though evidently from a different work, is 8 (S173), containing the words κάλλ]ιστε παιδῶν.

We learn several exciting things from the new text, besides how Stesichorus ended a poem. We learn that he stayed at Sparta and sang before a Spartan prince, and we are granted a new and vivid glimpse of the place in the period between Alcman and Pindar. It has long been noted that he placed Agamemnon's palace in Sparta instead of

Mycenae (*PMGF* 216), and it has been assumed that this reflects Spartan propaganda of the mid sixth century. Cf. the importation of the bones of Orestes *κατὰ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίην*, and C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1961), 112–15.

We learn also to appreciate better the connections between Stesichorus and Ibycus.[4] I[149] At Samos Ibycus vied with Anacreon in composing songs of love for the banquet. But the Polycrates ode shows a taste for heroic lyric: reduced in scale, but showing the Stesichorean triadic structure and dactylic rhythms, echoing something that was characteristic of the west. There may be something more than a common pattern. Ibycus too breaks off his narrative at a point where it is in danger of becoming the story of the Trojan War. He declines to describe the fin-de-siècle luxury of Troy:

νῦν δέ μοι οὔτε ξειναπάταν Π[άρι]ν
ἔστ'] ἐπιθύμιον οὔτε τανί[σφ]υρ[ον
ὑμ]νῆν Κασσάνδραν
Πρι]άμοιό τε παίδας ἄλλου[ς
Τρο]ίας θ' ὑψιπύλοιο ἀλώσι[μο]ν
ἆμ]αρ ἀνώνυμον.

It is tempting to see in this the direct influence of Stesichorus, even if Ibycus' Achaeans set off from Argos. The Polycrates poem dates from the forties or thirties. Stesichorus' chronology is rather uncertain, but the better evidence shepherds us towards the period 570–540; nothing suggests a higher date, except the constructions of ancient chronographers, and the legend of Hesiod's paternity, which disregards chronology entirely. But this is not the place to go into that.

[4] See Bowra, 242f., and with a different emphasis Wilamowitz, *Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker* (Berlin 1900), 33 n. 2. To vocabular coincidences listed by Bowra add now *Τροίας ἀλώσιμον ἆμαρ* (*PMGF* S89. 11, S151. 14f. quoted below) and *αἰολόδειρος* (S15 ii 5, 317(a). 2). I wonder if there is also a connection between the discovery that the Morning and Evening Star was the same, attributed to Ibycus (331) and Pythagoras (Apollodorus 244 F 91, Plin. *HN* 2. 37; W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), 307) and the Pythagorean planet *μεσόνυξ* said to have been mentioned by Stesichorus (259). [Cf. *JHS* 100 (1980), 206–8, to be included in *Hellenica* iii.]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Lobel in publishing 2735 saw that only Stesichorus and Ibycus came into question as author of the fragments, and of the two he inclined towards Stesichorus. In my paper I assumed Stesichorean authorship, and I continue to believe in it. Denys Page, however, became progressively more confident that it was Ibycus: *PCPS* 195 (1969), 71; 197 (1971), 89–94. He printed the fragments under Ibycus' name in *SLG*, and he was followed by Malcolm Davies in *PMGF*.

I now see that the impending war cannot be the Trojan War, in which the Tyndaridai did not take part. I think it must be their expedition to Attica σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθει (Hdt. 9. 73. 2) to recover Helen when she had been abducted by Theseus. We know that this story was told by Stesichorus (*PMGF* 191).

II. STESICHORUS AT LILLE

Peter Parsons's excellent article on the new Lille papyrus of Stesichorus[1] leaves little for others to add. But I think it is worth saying a few words about the ascription to Stesichorus, about which Mr Parsons expresses reservations. 'Theme, manner, metre, and dialect suit Stesichorus', he writes. 'But there are other considerations both objective and subjective—the Homeric clichés and especially the Homeric prosody; the drab repetitious flaccidity of the composition—which discourage a hasty attribution.'

The 'drab repetitious flaccidity' is no doubt one of the 'subjective' considerations. The judgment is presumably based on lines 201–34, the only reasonably well preserved passage in the piece, almost all of it belonging to a single speech—perhaps no more than a fiftieth part of the poem. My own verdict would not be so stern; but in any case, what is the basis of comparison? What private treasury of sparkling, sinewy Stesichorean verse lies at Mr Parsons's disposal? *Redundat atque effunditur*, says Quintilian (10. 1. 62), and we should not expect otherwise.

As for the Homeric clichés, there is no need to quote 'Longinus' on Stesichorus' being Ὁμηρικώτατος. They are a feature apparent in all his more extended fragments. Formulaic elements in a poet's

[1] *ZPE* 26 (1977), 7–36. The text is now *PMGF* 222(b).

language are notoriously difficult to quantify meaningfully, but I am unable to see why, after listing thirteen noun-epithet formulae from the new text, Parsons says 'all this goes well beyond what might have been expected from his other fragments' (p. 14). In the fragments of the *Geryoneis*, for instance, I find ἁλὸς βαθέας, ἀρηΐφιλον Χρυσάορα, θεῶν μακάρων, μακά[ρε]σσι θε[ο]ῖ[σι, γλαυκ]ῶπις Ἀθάνα, πικρὸν ὄλεθρον, ἱππόκομος τρυφάλεια, ἀκροτάταν κορυφάν, αἵματι πορφυρέωι, νυκτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς, κουριδίαν τ' ἄλοχον παῖδάς τε φίλους, φύλοπις ἀργαλέα.

The 'chief evidence' adduced against Stesichorean authorship (p. 12) is that mute+liquid in the new poem always makes a long syllable.[2] 'There are eight certain examples ... and a very likely supplement ... all within the word. This poet therefore follows strict Homeric practice, quite contrary to Stesichorean practice as the fragments show it.' One of his eight certain examples (226 πότμο[υ) is in fact an example of mute+nasal, a type l^2 of combination before which a syllable is less readily allowed to remain short than before mute+λ/ρ.

The facts about the treatment of mute+liquid in the other fragments of Stesichorus are as follows.[3] Where the consonants are initial, the preceding syllable normally remains short (12 instances). The only exception is S171. 2 ἐπὶ φρένας (preposition+noun). Where the consonants are within the word, the preceding syllable is long in 25 instances and short in 11. If the eight new examples of internal mute+liquid had divided themselves in exactly this ratio, we should have had two with a short syllable preceding. That these two fail to appear in such a small sample is of no statistical significance. But we can go further. If we set the fragments of the *Geryoneis* apart from the rest, the figures are:

	(long)	(short)
Geryoneis	7	7
The rest	18	4
P. Lille	8	0

It is the *Geryoneis*, not the Lille poem, that is the odd one out. This is probably connected with the fact that its metre is wholly dactylic with no admixture of cretic elements, so that there was a greater need

[2] Parsons actually says 'lengthen a preceding short vowel', something that no combination of consonants does in historical Greek.

[3] I include the fragments of P. Oxy. 2735, which Page gives to Ibycus.

of short syllables. Perhaps too Stesichorus' metrical technique altered with the passage of time, as did Euripides' in the use of resolution. At any rate no one will wish to argue on this evidence that the *Geryoneis* was the work of a different author.

The subject matter of the Lille papyrus, the style, the dialect, the metre, the prosody, are all entirely consistent with the ascription to Stesichorus. They are more than consistent with it: they impose it. Whatever other poets may have composed in this fashion in Stesichorus' time, only Stesichorus was current in later times. There is simply nothing else that this text can be. And how perfectly it fits the Stesichorus we have learned to know since 1967. T. Gargiulo has already pointed out the similarity between Jocasta's speech in 201 ff. and Geryon's in S11. 5 ff.[4] The metre of the new piece, besides being a simple form of dactylo-epitrite of a type known only from Stesichorus, has a particular similarity (though it is not identical) with that of the *Eriphyle* fragments in P. Oxy. 2618 (S148–50): the epodes in the two poems end

× – ∪ – – | – ⏑⏑ – ∪ ∪ – ⏒ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – | – – – ∪ – – |||
× – ∪ – – | – ⏑⏑ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – | – – – ∪ – – |||

|[3] The only difference is an extra dactyl in *Eriphyle*. The final colon[5] – – – ∪ – – was unparalleled before the Lille papyrus appeared, and had caused some astonishment.[6]

The *Suda* records that Stesichorus' poetry filled 26 books. We know thirteen poems by name, not counting the spurious *Calyce*, *Rhadine*, and *Daphnis*. We do not know how many of them exceeded the limits of a single book, as the *Oresteia* did. None of the titles we know fits the new poem,[7] but it had already been accepted as likely that there were several titles we did not know. It may be conjectured that the Lille poem was called *Thebais* or *Seven against Thebes*;[8] it must have told of Polynices' attack on his city. It is curious that it is not used in the scholia to the *Phoenissae*, since the Euripides scholia cite other poems of Stesichorus in this play and elsewhere. It is not

[4] *Bollettino del Comitato* 24 (1976), 56.

[5] Different colometry in P. Oxy. In S148 ii 5 read ὅπως ἀπήναν ζευ[ξαμένα Σικυω]νάδ' ἔβα (or Σεκ-. ζεύ[ξασ' εἰς Barrett).

[6] Page, *PCPS* 197 (1971), 96; M. W. Haslam, *QUCC* 17 (1974), 37.

[7] *Eriphyle* might have been considered if the metrically different poem in P. Oxy. 2618 did not have a stronger claim to that name.

[8] The latter title was also used for a poem of Corinna's.

significant, however, that in the Hypothesis ascribed to Aristophanes we find merely ἡ μυθοποιία κεῖται παρ' Αἰσχύλωι ἐν Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας πλὴν τῆς Ἰοκάστης, for these Hypotheses record only treatments of the story by other dramatists.

The papyrus is the earliest to show colometry in lyric verse[9] and the system of paragraphoi and coronides marking out triads. Its date is important for the chronology of Aristophanes, who is credited with these innovations.[10] Mr Parsons tells me that he does not sustain the dating to the early second century BCE which he gives in his article, and that the papyrus is to be put in the second half of the third century. This is in accord with the conclusions of B. Boyaval in *CRIPEL* 4. 342, based on the script of the list of names on the verso, and with the age of other documents from the same cartonnage (ib. 257). I understand that Professor Turner is to confirm it from palaeographical considerations in a forthcoming issue of *CRIPEL*. Recent scholarship inclines to take seriously the tradition that Aristophanes as a παῖς heard I[4] Zenodotus,[11] and to allow that he might have been born as early as 270. The Stesichorus papyrus, if it was written say *c.*230–220, does not prove this chronology correct, because it remains possible that Aristophanes was not in fact the first to introduce colometry and the triadic symbols, but it lends some support to it.

III. STESICHORUS IN SICILY(?)

Aelian tells a story about Daphnis, and says that this was the original subject of τὰ βουκολικὰ μέλη, and that Stesichorus of Himera τῆς τοιαύτης μελοποιίας ὑπάρξασθαι. Page rightly excludes this from the genuine work of the great Stesichorus (*PMG* 279). But a poem on Daphnis might suit the fourth-century writer who called himself 'Stesichorus of Himera the Second'.[1] We assume that he

[9] D. Jourdan-Hemmerdinger, *CRAI* 1973, 293, wrongly asserts that it is found in three third-century papyri of Euripides (P. Hib. 24, 25, and the Leyden papyrus about which she is writing). [It is however found in the simpler lyrics of Sappho in the early Ptolemaic papyrus P. Köln 429 (above, Chapter 5).]

[10] R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, i (Oxford 1968), 185–8.

[11] Pfeiffer 172; K. Nickau, *RE* XA. 26.

[1] P. Maas, *RE* IIIA. 2460, suggests that the *Suda*'s statement (σ 1095) that Stesichorus' real name was Teisias should be referred to this fellow.

wrote the *Cyclops* mentioned by Marsyas (*FGrHist* 135/6 F 17) *ap.* Did. *in Dem.* xii 62 (*PMG* 840), because it was performed in an aulodic competition in company with *Cyclopses* by Timotheus and Philoxenus.[2] We know that Philoxenus' *Cyclops* provided the background for Theocritus' sixth and eleventh Idylls. It would not be surprising if the Sicilian Daphnis story, also a Theocritean theme,[3] was introduced to poetic literature by a younger contemporary of Philoxenus. Of course, that is not what Aelian understood; the younger poet would have had to be distinguished explicitly.

The fact that Timotheus wrote a *Scylla* makes one wonder whether the *Scylla* attributed to Stesichorus was not another of the works of Stesichorus II.[4] The agreement of Homeric and Apollonian scholia in *PMGF* 220 takes us back to Alexandrian philology; but we cannot assume that this excludes a citation from the younger poet, even if his work remained unconfused with that of the older. Nor can I find a decisive answer in a second piece of evidence, the Fragmentum Bobiense in *Gramm. Lat.* vi. 623. 9 K. (*PMGF* p. 149): *octametrum catalecticum, quo usus est Stesichorus in Sicilia: 'audiat haec nostri mela carminis et tunc per tua rura uolabit'.* 'In Sicily' is neither a relevant nor a characteristic addition, and I conjecture *in Scilla.* Either of the Stesichori might have written a dactylic octameter; and if their works became confused, either might be quoted by metricians. Finally, although *Scylla* and *Geryoneis* were certainly separate poems, there would be a possible ground for ascribing them to the same author if, as Vürtheim supposed, the story that Scylla was killed by Heracles on his way home with Geryon's oxen[5] went back to the Stesichorean poem. But there is no compelling reason to assume that it does.

[2] With Foucart's correction *Οἰνιάδην δὲ τὸν Τιμοθέου* for *Τιμόθεον δὲ τὸν Οἰνιάδου*. Oiniades was a piper.

[3] And Theocritus associates it with the river Himeras, 7. 75. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Textgeschichte der griech. Lyriker,* 16 n. 3; *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913), 240.

[4] Schmid–Stählin, *Gr. Lit.* I. i. 479, say without explanation, 'Die Skylla steht eher dem jüngeren Dithyrambiker Stesichoros an'.

[5] Dionysius (*ὁ κυκλογράφος*, apparently, *FGrHist* 15 F 12) *ap.* sch. *Od.* 12. 85; cf. Lyc. 44–7 with sch.

10

Simonides Redivivus

Redivivus is not a word to be brought out and batted around every time a few more shreds of an ancient writer come to light. It does seem apt, however, on those comparatively rare occasions when new material appears that for the first time gives us a real sense of the style and character of an author's work. So it was in 1967 with the portfolio of Stesichorus fragments published in volume xxxii of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*; and so it is now, a quarter of a century later, with the fragments of elegies of Simonides in volume lix.

It has not been easy hitherto to appreciate the reasons for the high reputation that Simonides enjoyed in antiquity. Of his melic poetry some 270 verbatim fragments are to be found in *PMG*, and another 70 or so (at least) in *SLG*.[1] But of these hundreds of fragments scarcely a dozen contain more than three lines of continuously legible text; and of them not more than two or three offer anything to kindle any keen sense that we are in touch with a great poet. Of his epigrams we have precisely two whose authenticity is reasonably assured.[2] Of his elegies we had, till now, something approaching fifty verbatim fragments,[3] but it was hardly possible to derive from them

ZPE 98 (1993), 1–14.

[1] I refer to the fragments of P. Oxy. 2623 (= S319–86, 'Adespota'), identified as Simonides by E. Lobel in *Papyri Greek & Egyptian edited by various hands in honour of Eric Gardner Turner* ('P. Turner', London 1981), 21 f.

[2] The epitaph for Megistias, Hdt. 7. 228. 3 (Epigr. 6 Page); *IG* 1^3. 833 bis (*CEG* 270). It is plain from Herodotus' words that Simonides was *not* known to him as the author of ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν, that damp squib so often extolled by nineteenth-century historians of literature for its 'classical restraint'. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913), 204 n. 1.

[3] Besides those printed under Simonides' name in the first edition of *IEG* there were the fragments of P. Oxy. 2327, printed as Adesp. eleg. 28–60 but identified as Simonides by Lobel, op. cit. 23.

any clear idea of what a Simonidean elegy might have been like. The longest piece, one of thirteen lines, had a question-mark over its authorship; the question-mark has now gone, but the passage has turned out to be a conflation of two separate fragments.[4]

The new fragments, admirably edited by Peter Parsons as P. Oxy. 3965, are 47 in number. The majority of them are, as usual, too exiguous to be informative. A few, however, are of sufficient substance in themselves, or overlap sufficiently with fragments previously known, to yield bigger patches of text than we have had before. What is more, some of these patches can be grouped together as belonging to the same poems, so that we begin to get glimpses of larger pictures.

The elegies represented in the two papyri (2327 and 3965) appear to fall into two categories: narrative poems about the great battles of the Persian Wars, and sympotic elegy of the more traditional sort. We can distinguish two poems in the first category and three in the second. In what follows I will try to recover the sense of parts of these five poems and I[2] to bring out the most interesting considerations that arise from contemplation of the new material. I hope that this offering of ink to a ghost will enable him to speak to us more clearly than he has hitherto.

POEMS ON THE PERSIAN WARS

It was known that Simonides celebrated several of the great battles of 480 and 479, in verse of more than one genre. In the typically confused *Suda* notice on Simonides (σ 439) we read: *καὶ γέγραπται αὐτῶι Δωρίδι διαλέκτωι ἡ Καμβύσου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλεία καὶ Ξέρξου ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίωι ναυμαχία δι' ἐλεγείας, ἡ δ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μελικῶς· θρῆνοι, ἐγκώμια, κτλ.* It seems highly unlikely that the reigns of Cambyses and Darius formed the subject of a poem or poems (as Schneidewin supposed), and 'Xerxes' sea-battle' is equally suspect, especially as Artemisium and Salamis are mentioned separately. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*[4] iii. 423, saw the essence of the corruption: 'at auctor, quem sequitur Suidas, ut Simonidis aetatem describeret, haud dubie dixerat vixisse poetam

[4] Fr. eleg. 19 and 20. 5–12 in *IEG* ii[2] (1992), formerly fr. 8.

regnantibus Cambyse, Dario, Xerxe.'[5] We are left with the statement that Simonides wrote (1) an elegy on the Battle of Artemisium and (2) a melic poem on that at Salamis. Other sources give notice of (3) a melic poem on the Battle of Artemisium (*PMG* 533), (4) a narrative about the Salamis battle, genre unspecified (Plut. *Them.* 15. 4, Vit. Pind. l.c.), and (5) a narrative about the Battle of Plataea in elegiacs (Plut. *De Herod. malign.* 872d). Bergk identified (1) with (3) and (2) with (4), assuming that δι' ἐλεγείας and μελικῶς in the *Suda* entry should be transposed. This seemed persuasive.

The new material puts a different complexion on the matter. It confirms the existence of an elegiac poem on the Battle of Plataea and shows that it was on an ample scale. It also provides apparent confirmation of the statement in the *Suda* that there was an elegiac poem dealing with the Battle of Artemisium.[6] This removes the basis for altering ἡ δ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μελικῶς. In the first edition of *IEG*, accepting Bergk's reasoning, I included the two (*extra Sudam*) references to a Salamis poem, which Page quotes under *PMG* 536, and tentatively associated with them two small elegiac fragments that looked as if they could have to do with a naval battle. In the second edition I retained this arrangement, adding P. Oxy. 2327 fr. 31 now that this papyrus was known to be Simonides. I probably ought to have discarded the I[3] heading ἡ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχία and the testimonia referring to it; the other fragments (6–9) may equally well have come from the Artemisium poem, or some other.[7]

The Battle of Artemisium

We cannot discern anything of the structure of this poem. Its special mention in the *Suda* entry (where the Plataea poem is not listed), and the fact that the scholiast on Ap. Rhod. 1. 211–15c cites it simply

[5] He then cites Vit. Pind. (Ambros.) p. 2. 21 ff. Drachmann, ἐπέβαλλε δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις Σιμωνίδῃ ἧι νεώτερος πρεσβυτέρωι· τῶν γοῦν αὐτῶν μέμνηνται ἀμφότεροι πράξεων. καὶ γὰρ Σιμωνίδης τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν γέγραφε, καὶ Πίνδαρος μέμνηται τῆς †Κάδμου βασιλείας, with C. Schneider's emendation Ξέρξου for Κάδμου. In *IEG* ii[1]. 112 = ii[2]. 114 I have proposed a form of words for the *Suda*'s source.

[6] See Parsons's notes on 3965 fr. 20 (p. 41). The testimony to a melic poem on the same theme (*PMG* 533) looks unassailable, so we must accept that there were two compositions in different genres on the same subject.

[7] Simonides' praise of Megarian seamanship (*PMG* 629) may have come either in the melic poem on Salamis or in one of the Artemisium poems. Cf. Hdt. 8. 1. 1 and 45.

as ἡ *Ναυμαχία*, suggest that it was a substantial composition. Something of its style can, I think, be gathered from the new fragment most securely assigned to it, 3965 fr. 20=fr. 3 W^2. Simonides related a version of the λόγος that Herodotus 7. 189 reports as being current—perhaps he had Simonides' poem in view—that the great storm which wrecked a good portion of the Persian fleet before the battle arose in response to a prayer by the Athenians to Boreas and Oreithyia. An oracle had advised them to seek help from their γαμβρός, and they identified this 'in-law' as Boreas, who had carried Erechtheus' daughter Oreithyia off from Attica. We knew that Simonides referred ἐν τῆι *Ναυμαχίαι* to the sons of this union, Zetes and Kalais (sch. Ap. Rhod. 1oc. cit.=*PMG* 534), and now we catch a mention of them in the papyrus: line 4 ἀθανάτων] ἰότητι· τ[, 5 *Ζήτην καὶ*] *Κάλαϊ*[ν. Simonides, then, was happy to embellish his narrative with this story of divine succour. Lines 10 f. may refer to the swift running of the two Boreads:

10 – ∪ ∪ – ἐλ]άφοιcι θ[ooῖc ἴcα ?
– ∪ ∪ – ∪(∪)]ιητ' ἠϋ[κόμοιο] κόρ[ης (Oreithyia?)

The following lines deserve close attention.

12 – ∪ ∪ – ∪ θάλ]accαν ὑ[πὸ] τ[ρ]υγόc· α[
– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ἀγ]λαόφημον ἀλόc[
– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪]ων· τίνα δ̣ . [.]. λωπ[
15]ωτεχ[ ]ενον[

From the epic epithet of the sea, ἀτρύγετος, which many of the ancients understood to mean 'bottomless', i.e. having no τρύξ (sediment at the bottom), Simonides has derived the poetic image of the τρὺξ θαλάccης. The Boreads roused a storm that stirred the sea up from its lowest depths: ὥριναν δὲ θάλ]accαν or the like. What next? The imposing compound ἀγλαόφημος, hitherto known only from the late Orphic Hymns (31. 4) and from the name of the legendary Thracian who initiated Pythagoras into the Leibethrian mysteries and bequeathed his name to Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, occurs twice among the new fragments of Simonides. The other place is 3965 fr. 22. 5 (= fr. 10. 5 W.^{2}), where Achilles is apostrophized as κούρης εἰν]αλίης ἀγλαόφη[με πάϊ, and the meaning must be 'of glorious renown'. What or whom did the adjective qualify in the present passage? I can think of only one plausible answer: ταμίην ἀγ]λαόφημον ἁλός, a reference to the Old

l[4] Man of the Sea.[8] He is in the accusative, so he too appears to be affected by the Boreads' activity. The couplet may have gone something like this:

ὤριναν δὲ θάλ]ακκαν ὑ[πὸ] τ[ρ]υγός· ἄ[ν δὲ γέροντα
ἤγειραν, ταμίην ἀγ]λαόφημον ἀλός.

In the next line it seems certain, from the accented τίνα following a high point, that someone is asking a question. The narrator? It is much easier to suppose that it is the Old Man, roused from his repose and enquiring what is afoot—rather as Aeschylus' Darius, roused from the lower world by the Persians' clamour, asks (*Pers.* 682 f.):

τίνα πόλις πονεῖ πόνον;
στένει, κέκοπται, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον.

But a speech by the Old Man of the Sea might be expected to be prophetic, not merely questioning. I restore *exempli gratia*

εἶπε δὲ θεσπίζ]ων· τίνα δὴ [τ]ηλωπ[ὸν ἀκούω
δοῦπον ἄθ' ὑσμίνης] ὦτε χ[ροϊζόμ]ενον;

'And he spoke in prophecy: "What is this distantly perceived noise, as of battle, that I hear brushing my ears?"' In the sound of the rising storm he hears the coming clash of arms.[9]

This is all very rococo. It is the sort of thing we know well in Nonnus but did not expect in the 'chaste' classical period. Has the urge to restore led us so far astray? Did we miss some alternative way that would have led to equally plausible results? If so, I will be obliged to anyone who can point it out. Meanwhile it may be in place to recall Ibycus' rhetorical-decorative use of divine myth in contemporary contexts, a tendency more extensively disclosed by recent papyrus finds.[10] Such conceits were to become commonplace in Hellenistic verse, but they had classical origins.

[8] Aiolos is ταμίης ἀνέμων, *Od.* 10. 21; Poseidon is τριαίνης ταμίας, Ar. *Nub.* 566, etc.

[9] For τηλωπός of sound cf. Soph. *Ph.* 216 τηλωπὸν ἰωάν. The interpretation of the letters]ωτε as the dual ὦτε is supported by the variant ·ω·[(rather than ·ωι[) written above (-μ]εν)ον.

[10] *ZPE* 57 (1984), 23–32.

The Battle of Plataea

This is now the Simonidean composition of which we have the largest remains. One piece extends over 45 lines, and several others of lesser dimensions can be assigned to the poem with more or less confidence. The large fragment has revealed a crucial fact about the structure of the work that could not have been predicted. The narrative was preceded, like an epic rhapsode's narrative, by a hymn, the two parts being linked by a farewell and transition on the same pattern as those seen in many of the Homeric Hymns and in Hesiod's *Theogony*. The hymn occupied some thirty lines at least, and the link passage ten. The narrative part must have been much longer, hardly less than a hundred lines, perhaps much more. But the poem did not fill a roll. In both 2327 and 3965 it shared accommodation with sympotic elegies.

I[5] The poem was thus effectively a mini-epic in elegiacs. The Artemisium elegy may or may not have had a similar form. It was not an entirely new form, for we know of one precedent from a century and a half earlier. I refer to Mimnermus' elegiac poem on the Smyrnaeans' repulse of Gyges, which bore the epic-style title *Smyrneis*, began with a 'prooimion' involving two generations of Muses, and contained narrative of sufficient amplitude to include speeches.[11] The subject matter was analogous: a glorious victory, against all rational expectation, over a powerful barbarian invader. This is just the sort of event that captivates the people's imagination, inspires new poems (plays, films, . . .), and demands to be measured against the great events of past times. Mimnermus was too young to celebrate the Hermos battle (which his own name perhaps commemorates) at the time when it was fought, but Smyrna's pride in it burned on for decades, and it was still a potent theme when he came of age. Xerxes' defeat was very quickly taken up by tragedians who normally looked back to the heroic age for their subject matter. At the end of the fifth century Choirilos of Samos was to give it full epic treatment. No one in Simonides' time ventured to go to that length, but Simonides did what Mimnermus had done, presumably not without having Mimnermus' precedent in mind. We may guess that these elegiac epyllia were designed to be performed, as

[11] Mimn. frr. 13–13a; cf. *SGEI* 74.

entertainment, in that setting in which elegy was usually performed, with aulos accompaniment.

The discovery that the Plataea poem began with a hymn is less surprising than the fact that the hymn was addressed to Achilles. He is apostrophized as κούρης εἰν]αλίης ἀγλαόφη[με πάϊ,[12] and again as θεᾶς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ | κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος (frr. 10. 5 and 11. 20 W.[2]). Achilles' cult as a hero is well attested, and in some places he was even venerated as a god.[13] That Simonides accorded him the latter status may seem to be implied by his choosing him as the subject of his prooimion, for so far as we know, the rhapsode's prooimion was always addressed to a divinity.[14] On the other hand, θεᾶς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ carries the suggestion that Achilles is not himself a god; there is emphasis on his momentous death; and Simonides does not ask any favours from him in the extant lines. The farewell at 11. 19 (ἀλλὰ cὺ μὲ]ν νῦν χαῖρε) would have been the natural place to do so. Instead Simonides turns at that point to the Muse for assistance. Why, then, the initial focus on Achilles? Possibly the poem happened to be composed at the time of some festival or ritual in Achilles' honour, and Simonides took his cue from that.

In the concluding lines of the hymn, if I have interpreted the remains correctly, Simonides refers to Achilles' heroic death and funeral, and appends a series of reflections: (*a*) it was only by Apollo's agency that Achilles was struck down, for no mortal hand could have done it[6] without the god's help; (*b*) Troy was after all destroyed, Alexander's sin being at length punished by divine justice; (*c*) the victorious Greeks obtained undying glory thanks to Homer, who got the whole truth of the matter from the Muses. Here is the passage with the supplements suggested in my edition; they are of course quite uncertain in detail, but it is my hope that they correctly reflect Simonides' train of thought.

πᾳῖ[cέ] ς . [cὺ δ' ἤριπες, ὡc ὅτε πεύκην
ἢ πίτυν ἐν βήc[caιc οὔρεος οἰοπόλου
ὑλοτόμοι τάμ[νωcι
πολλὸν δ' †ἤρῶc[

[12] For the form πάϊ cf. fr. 64. 10 (pentameter end) πάϊν.

[13] See E. Diehl, *RE* xxii. 11; H. Hommel, *Der Gott Achilleus* (*Sitzb. d. Heidelb. Akad.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1980. 1).

[14] Heracles is treated in *h. Hom.* 15 as having been received in Olympus, and as having the power to grant ἀρετήν τε καὶ ὄλβον.

ἦ μέγα πένθ]ος λαὸν [ἐπέλλαβε· πολλὰ δ' ἐτίμων,
καὶ μετὰ Πατρ]όκλου ς' ἄ[γγειϊ κρύψαν ἑνί.
οὐ δή τίς ς' ἐδ]άμασσεν ἐφ[ημέριος βροτὸς αὐτός,
ἀλλ' ὑπ' Ἀπόλλ]ωνος χειρὶ [τυπεὶς ἐδάμης.
Παλλὰς δ' ἐγγὺ]ς ἐοῦσα πε[ρικλεὲς ἄ]στ[υ καθεῖλεν,
cὺν δ' Ἥρη, Πρ]ιάμου παιcὶ χ[αλεπτ]όμ[εναι
εἵνεκ' Ἀλεξά]νδρ̣ο̣ιο κακόφρ[ονο]ς, ὡς τ̣ὸ̣ν̣ [ἀλιτρόν
ἀλλὰ χρόνω]ι̣ θείης ἅρμα καθεῖλε δί̣κ̣[ης.
τοὶ δὲ πόλι]ν πέρcαντες ἀοίδιμον [οἴκαδ' ἵ]κοντο
φέρτατοι ἡρ]ώων̣ ἀγέμαχοι Δαναοί[,
οἷcιν ἐπ' ἀθά]νατον κέχυται κλέος ἀ̣ν̣[δρὸc] ἔκητι
ὅc παρ' ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ[ων
πᾶcαν ἀλη]θείην, καὶ ἐπώνυμον ὁ̣π̣[λοτέρ]οιcιν
ποίης' ἡμ]ι̣θέων ὠκύμορον γενεή̣[ν.

As Parsons observes (p. 32), the choice of theme implies a comparison of the Persian War to the Trojan, and an analogy between Simonides' present role and Homer's.[15] The victors of Plataea, and above all the Spartans under Pausanias, will get their undying glory with the help of Simonides. Parsons (p. 31) aptly cites Theocritus 16. 34–57, where Simonides and Homer are adduced successively as poets without whom many men's accomplishments would have fallen into oblivion. He is no doubt right in seeing that passage as a reminiscence of this one. Contemporary parallels for the thought are to be found in Pindar (*Pyth.* 3. 110–15, *Nem.* 7. 11–16, *Isth.* 4. 35–42). But whereas Pindar regards Homer as liable to embellish the reality with beguiling inventions (*Nem.* 7. 20–3), Simonides treats him, here and elsewhere, as a guarantor of truth, and speaks of him in terms of unqualified admiration (fr. eleg. 19, 20. 13–16 W.²; *PMG* 564).

In lines 23–8 Simonides introduces the theme of his recital: the men who saved Sparta and Hellas from the danger of enslavement. The prediction that they will enjoy l[7] [κλέος . . .] . . . ἀθάνατον (28) underlines the parallel with the Danaoi who were invested with ἀθά]νατον . . . κλέος thanks to Homer (15). But in stating his intention of perpetuating the memory of great deeds into the future (24 ἵνα τις [μνή]ς̣ε̣τ̣α̣ι̣ ὕ̣[στερον αὖ?), Simonides anticipates Herodotus (Book 1 init.). I wonder if there was anything similar in Mimnermus.

At 29 the narrative begins with the Spartan army setting forth from home, accompanied by their heroes, the Dioskouroi and

[15] He adds 'a possible parallel between Achilles and Pausanias'. But it is hard to descry any point of similarity between the two warriors' careers.

Menelaos, and led by Pausanias. The latter is mentioned prominently and, as it seems, honorifically:

33 τοὺc δ' υἱὸc θείοιο *Κλεο*]*μβ*[*ρ*]*ότου ἕξ*[*α*]*γ' ἄριcτ*[*ος*
]*αγ*. *Παυcανίης*.

In the ten remaining and increasingly broken lines of fr. 11 W.[2] the progress of the expedition is traced to the Isthmus, the Megarid, and Eleusis; Herodotus' parallel (but much fuller) account helps to suggest restorations.[16] It looks as if Simonides kept the gods' favouring attentions in view. He has referred to the Spartans' supernatural escorts; in 39 we seem to have *θεῶν τεράε*]*cci πεποιθότεc* (corresponding to the good sacrificial omens mentioned by Hdt. 9. 19. 2), and in 42 *μάν*]*τιος ἀντιθέου*[, *viz.* the army's seer whom Herodotus identifies as the Iamid Teisamenos and whose prophecies before the battle will be related in fr. 14. All this, taken together with the earlier reference to the divine justice that overtook the Trojans, may suggest that Simonides saw the Persian disasters too as a punishment decreed by the gods. This was also Aeschylus' interpretation, and no doubt a widely popular one at the time.

Fr. 13 must have followed fr. 11 after a not very long interval, since it stood in the column following 11. 13–27 in Oxy. 2327. The armies are now close to the field of battle. Lines 8–13 read

ὄφρ' ἀπὸ μὲν *Μήδ*[*ων*
καὶ *Περcῶν*, *Δώρου δ*[*ὲ*
10 παιcὶ καὶ *Ἡρακλέος* [
οἳ] δ' ἐπεὶ ἐc πεδίον [
εἰ]cωποὶ δ' ἔφ[*α*]*νεν* [
]*ρεcτε*[.]*ον*[

The Medes and Persians are here set in opposition to the sons of Doros and of Heracles. On the Greek side, in other words, the emphasis is on the Peloponnesian Dorians, that is, in the context, the Spartans.[17] Line 11 surely refers to the Greeks' descent from their first position on the slopes of Cithaeron (Hdt. 9. 19. 3) to the Asopus plain where the Persians were encamped (9. 25. 2–3). In

[16] By the way: in Hdt. 9. 20 *Μαcίτιος* ... *τὸν Ἕλληνες Μακίτιον καλέουcι*, MAK- invites emendation to MAIC-.

[17] For the reference to the Heraclidae here cf. Hdt. 9. 33. 3 *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ* ... *μιcθῶι ἐπειρῶντο πείcαντες Τειcαμενὸν ποιεῖcθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖcι βαcιλεῦcι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων*.

the 'Simonidean' epigram *IG* 7. 53 (16 Page) the place is identified by the phrase ἐν πεδίωι Βοιωτίωι, and so we may supplement

|[8] οἳ] δ' ἐπεὶ ἐς πεδίον [Βοιώτιον εὐρὺ κατῆλθον.

At this juncture Herodotus sets out the two armies' dispositions; compare Simon. fr. 15. Then, after a lengthy explanation of how Teisamenos came to be the Spartans' seer, he relates the results of this expert's divination. 9. 36 οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ὁ Τεισαμενὸς ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῆι Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἕλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὔ. I believe that this announcement by the seer is to be recognized in the difficult fr. 14 (3965 fr. 21). Direct speech seems to be guaranteed by 3]εγω, whether it was ἐγώ or a verb such as προλέγω. There is mention in successive lines of a river, an initial pressing forward (?), a terrible disaster, and everlasting memory. A coherent restoration is not easy to devise, but the following may catch the essence.

προλ]έγω ποτ̣αμοῦ λ̣α̣[οῖς ἐθέλουσιν
ὅττι πέρην μά]ρψαι πρῶτα β[ι]η[σαμένοις
δεινὸν ἀμαι]μάκετ̣ὸν τε κ̣α̣κ̣[όν· μίμνουσι δ' ἔσεσθαι
νίκην, ἧς μνή]μην ἥματα πάντ[α μενεῖν.

But the prophecy does not stop there. It evidently continues, and widens its scope, in the following lines. 7,]ς̣ι̣[.]σελασ̣ε̣ι̣νευ̣σαντο[, clearly contains ἐλάσει, 'X will drive (out) Y',[18] and νεύσαντο[ς, 'with the approval of' (Zeus). I cannot see anything likelier than

7 ..... ἐξ Ἀ]σ̣ί̣[η]ς ἐλά(σ)ει, νεύσαντο[ς ∪ – –
(Zeus), και]νὴν συμμα̣[χ]ίην φιλέω[ν (v.l. τελέων).

If ἐξ Ἀ]σί[η]ς is right, 'Asia' will here mean 'Ionia', and the reference will be to driving the Persians out of that part of the world. A masculine subject, not Zeus himself: who but Ares? He appears as an agent in some of the rhetorical 'Simonidean' epigrams of the period (45. 2, 47. 2, cf. 15. 1 Page; *CEG* 421). Ζηνὸς Ἄρης will be too long for 8 if και]νὴν is rightly restored. But the sentence must overrun

[18] This future is otherwise first found in Xenophon and the Hippocratic corpus; KB ii. 416 cites 'παρελάσσεις ψ 427' (which should be Ψ 427), but this is an inferior reading. Perhaps ἐλάσει already had some currency in Ionic in Simonides' time, or perhaps it is a late corruption of ἐλάει.

into 9 by one or two words, as is shown by the position of γάρ at the caesura of that line:

9 .....]. νωι γὰρ [.]. [. κ]ρηπῖδα τ̣[

So there is room for Ἄρης (iamb or spondee) there, or just possibly at the beginning of 7 (Ἄρηc cφ'), though that would involve an abrupt asyndeton. The space after νεύcαντοc might be filled by some adverb, or perhaps by Ἀθήνηι. We also need an expressed object. Here, at a hazard, is a possible reconstruction of the whole passage:

Μήδουc δ' ἐξ Ἀ]ϛί̣[η]c ἐλά(c)ει, νεύcαντο[c Ἀθήνηι
ὀψὲ Διόc, και]νὴν cυμμα̣[χ]ίην τελέω[ν
Ἄρηc· εὐδά]φνωι γὰ̣ρ [ὑ]π̣[ὸ κ]ρηπῖδα τ̣[ανύccει
νήcωι, ἄδην] ἐ̣π̣ά̣[γων εὐπ]ο̣ρίην β[ιότου,
παρβαcιῶ]ν δὲ [δίκην λήψ]ει ποτὲ Φ[οῖβοc Ἀπόλλων.
τόcca μὲν Ἰαμίδηc μαντι]π̣ό̣λ̣ῳ̣[ι cτόματι
θεcπίζων προύφαινε.]

Unless this is completely on the wrong track, it appears that Simonides' poem was composed sometime after the establishment of the Delian League, whose aspirations or achievements are here summarized. Simonides has taken the historical fact of Teisamenos' interpretation of the omens before Plataea—'advance across the Asopus and we lose; wait here and we win'—and, picking on this as the fateful moment of decision, upon which hung the whole outcome of the war, he has developed it into a far-seeing vaticination of the glorious future that was there waiting to be chosen. Here we recall the prophecy of the Old Man of the Sea in the Artemisium poem, and wonder whether it served a similar purpose.

The account of the battle itself still lies ahead. I have conjecturally assigned to it fr. 17 (3965 fr. 19), connecting Δη̣μητ[in the first line and δηρὸν [in the fifth with the decisive engagement round the shrine of Demeter Eleusinia at Argiopion (Hdt. 9. 57. 2); cf. Hdt. 9. 62. 2, ἐγίνετο μάχη ἰcχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. It was here that Mardonios was killed, and νίκην ἀναιρεῖται καλλίcτην ἁπαcέων τῶν ἡμεῖc ἴδμεν Παυcανίηc ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω (63. 2–64. 1). But there are 24 line-beginnings in the fragment, and I cannot catch any sense-connections between them.

The greater part of the poem is lost. But from what we have we can see that it was characterized above all by grandeur, not only of scale

but also of style. The initial hymn to Achilles struck an epic note for the composition and set the conflict against Mardonios upon a heroic plane. It is full of elevated language, Homeric and para-Homeric epithets, and there is even an epic simile (fr. 11. 1–3). There is no change of register as we move into the main narrative. Corinth is dignified as ἐπικλέα ἔργα Κορίνθου (11. 35) or as πόλιν Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ (coupled with the Homeric Ephyra, 15. 3); Megara is Νίσου πόλις (11. 37); the Peloponnese is [νῆσος] Ταντα λίδεω Πέλοπος (11. 36); Attica is [γαῖα] Πανδίονος (11. 41); the Spartans are Δώρου καὶ Ἡρακλέος παῖδες (13. 9 f.). The human heroes are assisted by gods; Teisamenos is made into a Homeric seer like Helenos (*Il.* 7. 44 ff.), who can report on the Olympians' deliberations and sketch out the whole plan of the events that are to unfold. History is shown subject to divine justice, to the nod of Zeus.

SYMPOTIC ELEGIES

We had little of these till now. A couple of improvised requests for delicacies; a couple of phrases in praise of wine; a thirteen-line fragment on the brevity of life, which many people (including Wilamowitz, Diehl, and Maas) preferred to assign to Semonides of Amorgos; that was all. The new papyrus gives us a feeling of wealth.

I[10] Lives, leaves

Firstly it confirms that those thirteen lines came from the elegies of Simonides of Ceos.[19] However, it shows that the first five lines, which stand only in the oldest manuscript of Stobaeus (S), were a self-contained excerpt, and that 6–13 should have been separated from them by a new heading, τοῦ αὐτοῦ, as these lines now appear in Oxy. 3965 fr. 26 preceded by remnants of verses unknown. They are followed by a recommendation to pay heed to something that old Homer once said, and at least three lines seem to have been devoted to praise of Homer's timelessness and infallibility. Here is a conjectural restoration of the passage (fr. 20. 13–19 W.[2]):

[19] As I had argued in *SGEI* 179 f., though with some reservation about the authenticity of the verses, which I no longer see any reason to question.

. . . . . .(.)] φράζεο δὲ παλα[ιγενέος ἔπος ἀνδρός·
ἦ λήθην] γλώσσης ἔκφυγ' Ὅμηρ[ος ἑῆς,
κοὔ μιν] παὐδαμά[τωρ αἰρεῖ χρόνος οὐδ' ἀπαμαυροῖ,
οὐδέ ἑ π]ω ψυδρῆις ε[ἴλεν ἐπ' ἀγγελίηις,
ὡς νῦν] ἐν θαλίηισι [καὶ εἰλαπίνηισι ματαίως
αἰε]ὶ ἐϋστρεπτοι [μὰψ παταγεῦσι λόγοι (v.l. ἐϋστρέπτων)
ἀνδρ]ῶν ἔνθα καὶ [ἔνθα.

As the elegy was presumably performed in sympotic surroundings,[20] these last lines would be a humorous put-down of other people's efforts. Simonides must have gone on to say which particular sentiment of Homer's he wished to be remembered. There is a good chance that the Homer quotation in the first Stobaeus excerpt (fr. 19 W.[2]) in fact belongs here, a few lines after the passage which we had thought it preceded.[21] It fits the context perfectly, and makes for an excellent example of ring composition:

Fr. 20.5		When he is young, a man is foolish.	A
	7	He has no anticipation of old age or death, and does not appreciate the brevity of mortal youth and life.	B
	11	But you must learn this lesson and make sure you enjoy life.	
	13	Take heed of what Homer said—	C
	14	he has escaped oblivion, and never proved false,	D
	17	in contrast to the sophistries of present-day elegy—	E
|[11] Fr.	19. 1	and one thing the Chian poet said that was finest of all:	D
		οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιήδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.	
	3	Few men have taken that properly to heart,	C
	4	for they have (false) expectations,	B
		that grow naturally in the breasts of the young.	A

Spots on the ivory

Secondly, in view of the overlaps of 3965 with 2327 we are now able to identify as Simonides the author of that intriguing fragment of

[20] Among the minor fragments of the new papyrus we find probable or possible mentions of garlands (27. 4, 30. 3, 32. 4), Dionysus (30. 5), a παῖς ἐρατός (27. 5), and a βάρβιτος (29. 3; see my *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992), 57 f., especially n. 47).

[21] Suggested by Parsons, 43.

2327 which was Adesp. eleg. 28;[22] it is now Simon. eleg. 21. Here is the main portion, lines 3–9, with a new restoration of line 8:

⊗ ο]ὐ δύναμαι ψυχ[ῆι] πεφυλαγμένος ε[ἶ]ναι ὀπηδός·
χρυσῶπιν δὲ Δίκ[ην ἄζ]ομαι ἀχνύμενος,
ἐ]ξ οὗ τὰ πρώτιστα νεο[τρεφέ]ων ἀπὸ μηρῶ[ν
ἡ]μετέρης εἶδον τέρμ[ατα πα]ιδείης,
κ]υά[ν]εον δ' ἐλεφαντίνεόν [τ' ἀνεμί]σγετο φέ[γγος,
ποίην] δ' ἐκ νιφάδων [ἦν νεοθηλέ' ἰ]δεῖν.
ἀλλ' αἰδ]ὼς ἤρυκε, νέου δ[. .]. ι[ ] ὕβριν.

Simonides announces that he can no longer maintain circumspection in ministering to his soul, that is, in allowing himself enjoyment of the good things in life.[23] He has, albeit with pain, respected the golden visage of Right[24] ever since he saw on his young thighs the signs that his boyhood was at an end. Dark hairs sprouted to speckle the ivory white; the image of the ivory and the theme of the colour contrast on the maculate thighs are no doubt drawn from *Il.* 4. 141–7. In the next line the metaphor changes. The previously unblemished thighs are now represented by νιφάδες, snows. What was the complementary symbol representing their maculation? I think the picture must be of a snow-covered field in which, as spring approaches and the snows melt, spots of grass begin to appear here and there. *Diffugere niues, redeunt iam gramina campis.* It is a brilliant image, not just pictorially apt but hinting at the burgeoning of sexual vigour.[25]

Where is the poet heading? He has always striven, hard though it was, to stay on the path of right; αἰδώς held him in check; but now he is unable to minister to his soul πεφυλαγμένως, with proper caution. It is evidently a love poem. The degree of I[12] introspection is unusual, but the general category, 'I am in love, but reluctantly', is

[22] I wrote some notes on it in *SGEI* 167 f.

[23] Cf. 20. 12 ψυχῆι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τλῆθι χαριζόμενος with *SGEI* 180, adding Eur. *Supp.* 884 (ψυχῆι for φύσει cj. Lenting). Perhaps I was wrong, in editing 21. 3, to substitute a vocative for the papyrus' presumed ψυχ[ῆι]; the sense is not greatly affected, but ὀπηδός is easier with a dative expressed.

[24] Cf. Soph. fr. 12 τὸ χρύσεον δὲ τᾶς Δίκας δέδορκεν ὄμμα, Eur. fr. 486 Δικαιοσύνης τὸ χρύσεον πρόσωπον. In quoting these two passages, Aristoxenus (fr. 50 Wehrli) forgot Simonides.

[25] Related imagery perhaps in line 11]οφύλλοις. For ποίη metaphorically in an erotic context cf. Archil. 196a. 23 f. ἐς ποη[φόρους κ]ήπους, Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 37 ἐκ λεχέων κεῖραι μελιαδέα ποίαν. A possible alternative supplement would be ἄνθεα.

familiar. In this case it is not just that the poet is apprehensive of the pain and stress of love. He feels it to be somehow discreditable. We can compare Theognidea 1341 f. (Euenus fr. 8c),

> αἰαῖ, παιδὸc ἐρῶ ἀπαλόχροος, ὅc με φίλοιcιν
> πᾶcι μάλ' ἐκφαίνει κοὐκ ἐθέλοντος ἐμοῦ.

That poem, if 1341–50 are all one piece, is addressed to a Simonides, and he may well be our Simonides.[26] Perhaps Thgn. 1271–4 comes from the same period or circle.

The Happy Island

The advent of 3965 fr. 27 welds what were three scrappy Adespota (29–31) into one coherent fragment of singular beauty (22 W.[2]). It followed the snows fragment quite closely—there were probably less than twenty lines between them—but it comes, to all appearance, from a different poem, doubtless the next in the book. In lines 5–18 Simonides is describing a journey that he wishes he could make to that island of shady trees and pleasant breezes where he might be reunited with the fair Echekratidas, erase the wrinkles of old age, and enjoy the perfect pleasures of song, fragrant garlands, and a delightful companion.

> πρήcc]οιμι κέλευθο[ν,
> φόρτον ἄγων Μουcέω]ν̣ κόcμ[ο]ν̣ ἰο̣c̣[τ]ε̣φάνων,
> εὐαγέων δ' ἀνδρῶν ἐc] ἕδοc πολύδενδρον ἱκο[ίμην
> ε̣c̣[. . . .] εὐαέ̣α̣ νῆcον, ἄγαλμα β[ίου·
> κα[ί κεν] Ἐχεκ̣[ρατί]δην ξανθότρ[ιχα τοῖcδε γεραιοῖc
> ὀφ̣[θαλμοῖcιν ἰδ]ὼν χεῖρα λάβοιμ̣[ι φίλην,
> ὄφρα ν̣έ̣ο̣[ν] χ̣[αρίε]ντος ἀπὸ χροὸc ἄν[θοc ἀείη,
> λείβοι δ' ἐκ βλ̣[εφάρ]ων ἱμερόεντα [πόθον.
> καί κεν ἐγ[ὼ μετὰ πα]ι̣δὸc ἐν ἄνθε[cιν ἁβρὰ πάθοιμι
> κεκλιμένος, λευκ̣ὰ̣ς̣ φαρκίδας ἐκ̣τ̣[ὸc ἐλῶν,
> χαίτη[ιcι]ν χαρίε̣[ντ]α̣ νεοβλάcτ[οιο κυπείρου
> π̣[οικίλον] εὐανθέ̣α̣ πλε[ξάμενος cτέφανον·
> Μο[ύcαιc] δ' ἱμερόεντα λιγὺν π̣[ροχέοιμί κεν οἶμον
> ἀρτι̣[επέ̣α̣] νωμῶν γλῶccαν ἀ[πὸ cτόματος.

[26] Simon. eleg. 33. 4 o]ὐκ ἄχαριc γε[recalls Thgn. 496 (also from an elegy addressed to Simonides, presumably by the same poet), χοὔτως cυμπόcιον γίνεται οὐκ ἄχαρι.

The island must be the Isle (or one of the Isles) of the Blest, where it is attractive to believe that the best people go after death.[27] Echekratidas can reasonably be identified as that ruler of Larisa whose son Antiochus was one of Simonides' patrons.[28] He is dead now, but Simonides recalls him as an old and dear friend.

1[13] 6 Simonides would take some songs with him. For the expression cf. fr. 11. 23 μελ]ίφρονα κ[όσμον ἀο]ιδῆς | [ἡμετ]έρης, and Solon 1. 2, Parm. B 8. 52, Pind. *Ol.* 11. 13 and fr. 194, Democr. B 21, Orph. fr. 25 Bernabé.

7 V.l. πολύυμνον. The supplement at the beginning, besides being suitable for the sense, has the merit of helping to account for the presumed corruption of εὐαέα (νῆσον) to εὐαγέα in the next line. Otherwise one might opt for εὐσεβέων, with an eye on the θάλαμος or χῶρος εὐσεβέων of fourth-century and later epitaphs (*CEG* 545, Call. *Epigr.* 10. 4 Pf.; Rohde, *Psyche*[8] ii. 383 (Eng. ii. 571 n. 133); [Pl.] *Ax.* 371c).

13 μετὰ πα]ι̣δός: Echekratidas? Perhaps rather an unspecified couching-companion. Cf. fr. 27. 5, Sol. 24. 5; *Anacreont.* 42. 3f., 50. 13–20. For ἁβρὰ παθεῖν cf. Sol. 24. 4, Thgn. 474 (a poem to Simonides).

What was the context of this idyllic fantasy? The elegy was surely addressed to Echekratidas' son Antiochus or to some other member(s) of the family. Aristides, *Or.* 31. 3 (*PMG* 528), implies that Simonides wrote a lament for Antiochus' death and that it referred to the prince's grieving mother, Dyseris. This melancholy event had probably not yet occurred at the time of our elegy, or Simonides might have pictured Antiochus in the Happy Island rather than his father. Simonides already feels old, but that need not exclude a date as early as the 490s.[29]

Preceding the passage quoted above are the line-ends 1]. ο̣ιο θαλάσσης, 2]ρουσα πόρον (φέ]ρουσα, subject a ship?), 3]μενος ἔνθα περανα̣[. After it we find the line-beginnings 19 τῶνδε̣[, 20 εὔπομπ̣[(corrected from εὔκομπ̣[). I suspect that these are not part

[27] See Parsons, 46 and 49.

[28] Theoc. 16. 34 with sch. (*PMG* 528), see Gow ii. 312; Y. Béquignon, *RE* Supp. xii. 1051f.

[29] The dates 520–490 given for Antiochus' ταγεία by Béquignon, *RE* Suppl. xii. 1053, seem to be mere guesswork.

of the Elysian visit—Simonides will hardly have spent seven lines getting from his embarkation to the mention of his destination—but of its frame: a voyage to be undertaken by Antiochus, or whoever the poem was addressed to. It was, in other words, a propemptikon.[30] The word εὔπομπ[is especially suggestive; perhaps εὔπομπ[ος predicatively of a god (e.g. Poseidon), with optative verb.

This provided the point of departure for the imaginary journey. From wishing his noble Thessalian patron godspeed, Simonides turned aside for a few moments to describe the voyage that he personally would like to make: to the Happy Island, to see Echekratidas again, grasp his hand, surrender anew to the charm that used to surround him; and himself to shed the weight of years, to return to the blithe, garlanded, songful times he had shared with his friend long ago. One may well be reminded of Callimachus:

|[14] ἆ πάντως, ἵνα γῆρας ἵνα δρόσον ἦν μὲν ἀείδω
πρώκιον ἐκ δίης ἠέρος εἶδαρ ἔδων,
αὖθι τὸ δ' ἐκδύοιμι, τό μοι βάρος ὅσσον ἔπεστι
τριγλώχιν ὀλοῶι νῆσος ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδωι.

Is the Cyrenaean elegist recalling the Cean?

However that may be, we cannot but feel that in this fragment, more than anywhere else, we have found the real Simonides, speaking from the heart. And it is wonderful.

ADDENDUM (1993)

In fr. 11. 35 f. of the Plataea poem,

]ν καὶ ἐπικλέα ἔργα Κορίν[θ]ου
] Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος,

the sense is 'they reached the Isthmus and Corinth'. 36 certainly referred to the Peloponnese as νῆσος Πέλοπος. But how was the phrase attached to 35? In the ed. pr. Parsons thought of νῆσον δ' ἐξέλιπον], and I of νήσου τ' ἐσχατιὴν].

[30] Early examples of this 'genre' are Sappho 5, Thgn. 691–2; cf. Sol. 19.

The poet's nephew suggests a different solution. In his first Ode, which is for an Isthmian victor, he apostrophizes the Isthmus thus (13 f.):

ὦ Πέλοπος λιπαρᾶς νάσου θεόδματοι πύλαι.

So perhaps

ἔνθα πύλαι νήσου] Ταντα̣λίδεω Πέλοπος.

11

Pindar as a Man of Letters

Pindar was, I imagine, a difficult man to live with. Certainly he is a difficult poet to translate, and a difficult one to place in literary history. He is not very like any earlier poet that we can point to; Simonides comes closest. Beside him there is Bacchylides, whom we tend to think of as Pindar and water. So from one point of view Pindar appears as an original genius, a great innovator, even an erratic block. On the other hand there appear in his poetry tropes and imagery which find their best parallels in the *Rigveda* and which seem to be elements of ancient poetic tradition that have come down to Pindar by a line of transmission not represented in what else we have of early Greek poetry.[1] This makes it advisable to be cautious on the subject of his originality. He was evidently heir to lines of tradition independent of the Ionian epic. It is not so strange that it should be so. Pindar is, after all, the only one of the lyric poets to have survived in such quantity, and the only one from Boeotia.[2]

On the other hand we cannot regard him as an aborigine faithfully carrying on an archaic provincial tradition. He is a man of the fifth century, well travelled, with friends and patrons in many parts of Greece, from Rhodes in the east to Sicily in the west, from Thessaly in the north to Cyrene in the south: a man of Panhellenic culture. It is his relationship to that culture, and especially to earlier poetry, that forms the subject of my paper.

Dirk Obbink and Richard Rutherford (edd.), *Culture in Pieces. Essays on ancient texts in honour of Peter Parsons* (Oxford 2011), 50–68. References are listed at the end of the chapter.

[1] See West 2007, esp. Chapters 1 and 2.

[2] I do not count Corinna, whom I regard as Hellenistic; cf. West 1970 and 1990 (=below, Chapters 28–9).

If we talk about Aeschylus' or Euripides' attitude towards Homer, it is a matter of inference. They cannot name Homer outright or make an explicit quotation—though Euripides at least can refer unspecifically to 'poets' tales'.[3] The lyric poet, like the elegist, has the freedom to refer to poets, musicians, or other historical persons by name. Already in the seventh century Callinus of [51] Ephesus appears to have mentioned the name of Homer—I believe as the legendary ancestor whom the Homeridai claimed to be the author of their traditional epic. In the late sixth or early fifth century Simonides refers to Homer and Stesichorus, and Xenophanes refers to Homer and Hesiod. Bacchylides quotes a saying of Hesiod's, and elsewhere he spoke of Homer as a native of Ios.[4]

Pindar indulges this freedom more extensively. If we put together all the passages where he refers to poets or musicians of the past, we get the impression that he had in his head the materials for a history of early Greek poetry and music. It would have been, had he written it, an idiosyncratic history, containing legendary elements and outspoken personal judgments. But here in Pindar we have someone who looks back and surveys his predecessors with a critical and reflective eye.

Homer is for him the poet who propagated the glory of the heroes who fought at Troy: *Φρυγίας κοσμήτορα μάχας*, he calls him (if the anonymous fragment 347 is rightly assigned), 'adorner of the Phrygian war'. It is through Homer that we know of those heroes; this observation underlines the importance of the poet to his patron, of Pindar to Hiero (*Pyth.* 3. 112–15):

> *Νέστορα καὶ Λύκιον Σαρπηδόν', ἀνθρώπων φάτις,*
> *ἐξ ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν, τέκτονες οἷα σοφοί*
> *ἄρμοσαν, γινώσκομεν. ἁ δ' ἀρετὰ κλειναῖς ἀοιδαῖς*
> *χρονία τελέθει· παύροις δὲ πράξασθ' εὐμαρές.*
>
> Nestor and Lycian Sarpedon, who are the talk of mankind,
> we know from resounding verses such as skilled craftsmen
> have fitted together. It is through famous songs
> that excellence endures, something that few find it easy to achieve.

This is almost to identify myths with poetic sources.

[3] e.g. *Hipp.* 451, *HF* 1315, 1346, *Hyps.* fr. 752g. 18; cf. *IA* 798.

[4] Callin. fr. 6 W., cf. West 1999, 377; Simon. *PMG* 564. 4 = fr. 273 Poltera, Xenoph. DK 21 B 10–11, Bacch. 5. 192, fr. 48.

To a degree, Pindar sees himself in the same job as Homer, that of perpetuating fame.[5] For him the Homeric heroes, like his patrons, were real men; no question of their being fictitious characters. But he does not trust Homer to give an accurate account of them. Like Thucydides (1. 10. 3), he sees Homer as being liable, *qua* poet, to exaggerate and embellish the facts. As a devotee of the Aeacidae he invokes the unreliability of Homer in a thoroughly partisan way in the face of Odysseus' infamous defeat of Ajax in the contest over Achilles' armour and Ajax's suicide (*Nem.* 7. 20–8):

ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον' ἔλπομαι
λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν διὰ τὸν ἁδυεπῆ γενέσθ' Ὅμηρον,
ἐπεὶ ψεύδεσί οἱ ποτανᾶι <τε> μαχανᾶι
|52 σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι· σοφία
δὲ κλέπτει παράγοισα μύθοις. τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει
ἦτορ ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλεῖστος· εἰ γὰρ ἦν
ἓ τὰν ἀλάθειαν ἰδέμεν, οὔ κεν ὅπλων χολωθείς
ὁ καρτερὸς Αἴας ἔπαξε διὰ φρενῶν
λευρὸν ξίφος.

I reckon that Odysseus is held in higher account
than his experience warrants, thanks to that sweet-versing Homer,
for on his falsehoods and his winging artifice
a certain grandeur sits: skilled craft
beguiles and deceives with its tales. The generality
of mankind has an unseeing disposition;
for if it could descry the truth, the stalwart Ajax
would not in anger over arms have driven
a slick sword through his heart.

Pindar is not denying and cannot deny that Ajax committed suicide; he is claiming that the Achaeans were wrong to award the arms to Odysseus, because Odysseus was not really the more deserving and it is only Homer's art that makes it seem plausible that he was. This 'Homer' is evidently the poet of the *Aethiopis* or the *Little Iliad.* (The story of the suicide was told in both epics.) In the Eighth Nemean again (23–7) Pindar insists that Ajax was the worthier hero but that Odysseus' suspect eloquence defrauded him of his prize. Here there is no reference to Homer, and it is unequivocally Odysseus' way with words, not the poet's, that is in question. Pindar brings up the story also in the Fourth Isthmian (35–42), and this time Homer is

[5] A very Indo-European conception: West 2007, chapter 10.

commended without reserve. You know, he says, of the valour of Ajax, which he cleft on his own sword in the darkness of night, leaving him aggrieved against the sons of the Greeks who went to Troy.

ἀλλ' Ὅμηρός τοι τετίμακεν δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὅς αὐτοῦ
πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν
θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν·
τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἕρπει,
εἴ τις εὖ εἴπηι τι· καὶ πάγκαρπον ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ διὰ πόντον βέβακεν
ἐργμάτων ἀκτὶς καλῶν ἄσβεστος αἰεί.

But Homer has done him honour among men,
who set straight all his prowess and told of it on the rod
of his wondrous verses to entertain posterity;
for it travels on immortal in voice,
if someone says something well: across the fruitful land and over the sea
goes the bright beam of fine deeds, unquenched for ever.

No suggestion that Ajax's merits might have been exaggerated by the poet.

Addressing Arcesilas in the Fourth Pythian (277) Pindar cites Homer as a source of wisdom:

l[53] *τῶν δ' Ὁμήρου καὶ τόδε συνθέμενος*
ῥῆμα πόρσυν'· ἄγγελον ἐσλὸν ἔφα
τιμὰν μεγίσταν πράγματι παντὶ φέρειν.

From the sayings of Homer take this one too to heart
and tend it: he said that a good messenger
confers the greatest dignity on every matter.

This technique of quoting a maxim and prefacing it with a source-reference is one that we can trace back as far as Alcaeus, who refers (fr. 360) to what Aristodemus once said in Sparta, by no means a gormless remark, *οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον λόγον*, namely "*χρήματ' ἀνήρ*". Pindar, as it happens, also quotes this apophthegm, though he attributes it to an unnamed Argive (*Isth.* 2. 9–11). There are other passages where he is still less specific. The saying "*μηδὲν ἄγαν*" he ascribes to *σοφοί* (fr. 35b). In another place (*Nem.* 9. 6) he uses the formula *ἔστι δέ τις λόγος ἀνθρώπων*.

In others again a mythical personage is cited as the source. In the Ninth Pythian (94) it is the Old Man of the Sea: he said one should give one's enemy full credit for his good deeds. Was there some collection of precepts ascribed to the Old Man of the Sea? There is no

other trace of it. More likely Pindar is alluding to some narrative poem in which a hero met and conversed with the Old Man, as Menelaus did with Proteus in the *Odyssey*, and Heracles with Nereus in the *Geryoneis*.[6] The Stesichorean poem seems a possible source.

A clearer case is the Sixth Olympian (12–17), where Pindar applies to the Syracusan victor Hagesias the praise that Adrastus justly spoke over Amphiaraus in Thebes at the funeral of the Seven: ἀμφότερον μάντίν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι, 'both a good seer and a good warrior'. Here we would guess that Pindar had the epic *Thebaid* in mind, even if the scholiast did not tell us so on the authority of Asclepiades of Myrlea. It is easy to restore the original hexameter:

ἀμφότερον μάντίν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάχεσθαι.[7]

Pindar has simply replaced μάχεσθαι with μάρνασθαι. In the Eighth Pythian (39–55) he quotes a prophecy by Amphiaraus about the outcome of the war of the Epigonoi: it is not convertible into hexameters, but it may well represent the substance of a prophecy given in the Cyclic *Epigonoi*.

There is what looks like a comparable case in Bacchylides, who in his third ode (78–84) cites a piece of wisdom that Apollo imparted to Admetus:

|54 θνατὸν ἐὼντα χρὴ διδύμους ἀέξειν
γνώμας· ὅτι τ' αὔριον ὄψεαι μοῦνον ἁλίου φάος,
χὤτι πεντήκοντ' ἔτεα ζωὰν βαθύπλουτον τελεῖς.

Being mortal, you need to nurture
two mindsets: that tomorrow's sunlight is the only one you will see,
and that for fifty years you will live out a life of deep wealth.

Excellent advice, one of the best precepts to have come to us from antiquity. But what was Bacchylides' source? Presumably some ample account of Apollo's servitude to Admetus.

Now, the point I want to make about the passage in the Fourth Pythian, 'From the sayings of Homer take this one too to heart', is that to name a literary source is to go a step further than naming the mythical or historical personage supposed to have uttered the dictum. Pindar is not the only poet of his time to take this step, but

[6] *Od.* 4. 460–569; Stes. *PMGF* 16a, cf. Pherec. 16a Fowler.

[7] *Thebais* fr. 8 B.=6 W., already restored by Leutsch; disputed by Wilamowitz 1901, 1285 n. 1=247 n. 3, cf. 1886, 163 n. 4; 1922, 310 n. 3. The verse is borrowed in the epitaph for Aeschines' uncle, the seer Cleobulus (*CEG* 519. 2), and echoed in Soph. *OC* 1314.

it seems to be something fairly new. Simonides uses quotations in three of his melic fragments. In two of them the sources are famous sages, Pittacus and Cleobulus (*PMG* 542. 11, 581=260, 262 Poltera). In the third (579=257 Polt.) he uses the formula that Pindar also uses, ἔστι τις λόγος, and here we recognize a paraphrase of some lines from the *Works and Days* (289–92). But in one of his elegies (19. 1–2 W.[2]) he famously quotes a line of the *Iliad* verbatim, and quotes it as Homer's:

ἓν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χῖος ἔειπεν ἀνήρ·
"οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν".

The actual name Ὅμηρος appears in a papyrus fragment of what may well be the same poem and may, as Peter Parsons has suggested, belong just before the lines about the man of Chios.[8] The significant thing for my present purpose is that he does not introduce the Homeric verse as 'that fine observation that Glaucus made to Diomedes' (which would be parallel to the quotation of what Adrastus said about Amphiaraus), but as 'that finest of things that the man of Chios said'. This betokens a new attitude towards the poetry of the past.

It belongs in a context that I have sketched elsewhere.[9] In the second half of the sixth century there appears for the first time a lively interest in Homer as a poet and as a man, distinct from his works, and more generally an interest in literary history, in defining and assessing the achievements of past poets and musicians and contrasting the old with the new. The epics begin to be treated no longer as free-standing records of the past but as the artistic creations of l[55] an individual, to be praised or criticized. Cynaethus, the poet of the Delian hymn to Apollo, impersonates the blind poet of Chios who wandered from city to city and whose songs constitute a matchless legacy (*Hymn. Ap.* 172–5). Theagenes of Rhegium at the same period is said to have written the first book about Homer (DK 8. 1). Xenophanes criticizes Homer and Hesiod for spreading false and pernicious ideas about the gods (DK 21 B 11). Heraclitus too criticizes Homer, saying that he deserves to be driven out of the ἀγῶνες and whipped. He refers to Homer's reputation as the wisest of men, and cites verses from the *Iliad* as evidence that Homer was an

[8] P. Oxy. 3965 fr. 26. 14=eleg. 20. 14 W.[2]; Parsons 1992, 43; cf. above, p. 123.
[9] West 1999, 377–80=*Hellenica* i, 428–33.

ἀστρολόγος (DK 22 B 42, 56, 105). Simonides expresses warm admiration for Homer's achievement. In the proem of his Plataea elegy he writes of the Danaans who fought at Troy (fr. 11. 15–18 W.[2]),

> οἷσιν ἐπ' ἀθά]νατον κέχυται κλέος ἀν[δρὸς] ἔκητι
> ὃς παρ' ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ[ων
> πᾶσαν ἀλη]θείην, καὶ ἐπώνυμον ὁπ[λοτέρ]οισιν
> ποίησ' ἡμ]ιθέων ὠκύμορον γενεή[ν.
>
> [And they] are bathed in fame that cannot die, by grace
> [of one who from the dark-]tressed Muses had
> the tru[th entire,] and made the heroes' short-lived race
> a theme familiar to younger men.

In an epigram inscribed on a Herm in the Athenian Agora following the capture of Eïon in 475[10] it is recalled that the Atridae were accompanied to Troy by an Athenian leader, Menestheus,

> ὅν ποθ' Ὅμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα θωρηκτάων
> κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ὄντα μολεῖν.
>
> Whom Homer once pronounced, of all the cuirassed Danaans,
> the outstanding arrayer of the battle-line.

Stories began to circulate at the same period about Homer's life. Different cities began to claim him as their own: Cynaethus and Simonides make him a Chiot, Bacchylides said he came from Ios, Pindar is said to have called him (presumably in different poems) both a Chiot and a Smyrnaean.[11] Heraclitus (B 56) adverts to the tale of how this supposedly wisest of men was defeated by a boys' riddle. Debate about the authorship of the various epics was under way. Pindar is cited (fr. 265) as having endorsed the story that Homer, wanting to marry off his daughter and being too poor to afford a dowry, gave away the *Cypria* in lieu of one. The point of the story was that this epic that went under the name of Stasinus of Cyprus was really by Homer. We have I[56] seen that at least one of the other Cyclic epics was also, in Pindar's eyes, by Homer, though we do not know whether he was aware of alternative claimants in that case.

Other poets too were the subject of interest. It seems that Stesichorus had already mentioned certain older poets by name, the shadowy Xanthus and the famous Hesiod (*PMGF* 229, 269).

[10] Aeschin. *Ctes.* 183; Plut. *Cimon* 7. 6; Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, 257 lines 841–2 (cf. Hdt. 7. 161. 3).

[11] *Hymn. Ap.* 172, Simon. eleg. 19. 1, Bacch. fr. 48, Pind. fr. 264.

Simonides, referring to Meleager's victory with the javelin at the funeral games for Pelias, adds the names of his poetic sources as a warranty of truth: *οὕτω γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἠδὲ Στησίχορος ἄεισε λαοῖς*, 'for so Homer and Stesichorus have sung to the peoples' (*PMG* 564=273 Polt.). They have been awarded classic status. Hesiod of course also had it. Simonides is said to have defined the relationship of Hesiod's poetry to Homer's by calling Hesiod the gardener who planted the myths of gods and heroes and Homer the garland-maker who wove the myths into epic structures.[12] For Xenophanes, as later for Herodotus, Hesiod and Homer are jointly responsible for the conventional poetic picture of the gods, and he condemns them for it. Heraclitus criticized a whole series of poets, prose writers, and sages: Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Xenophanes, Thales, Bias of Priene, Pythagoras, Hecataeus (B 38–40, 42, 56–7, 81, 105–6, 129).

Both Pindar and Bacchylides cite Hesiod by name. Bacchylides, in the manner of his uncle's citation of the *Χῖος ἀνήρ*, says *Βοιωτὸς ἀνὴρ τᾶδε φών[ησεν, γλυκειᾶν] Ἡσίοδος πρόπολος Μουσᾶν* (5. 191–3); Pindar in the Sixth Isthmian (67) just says 'Hesiod'. Again it is clear that Hesiod is one of the principal classics. Pindar's reference is to a line in the *Works and Days* (412); Bacchylides' seems to be to another gnomic poem such as the *Precepts of Chiron*.

Of the non-hexameter poets of the archaic age, the one who first emerges as a classic is Archilochus. When Heraclitus (B 42) writes that Homer deserves to be whipped out of the *ἀγῶνες*, he adds 'and Archilochus likewise'. Pindar twice refers to him. The Ninth Olympian begins with the striking allusion to 'Archilochus' song that finds voice at Olympia, the *Kallinikos* triply resounding',

> *τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος*
> *φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπίαι, καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλόος κεχλαδώς.*

This is the traditional acclamation *τήνελλα καλλίνικε*, which so far as we can tell had little to do with Archilochus. The other passage is much more interesting. It comes in the Second Pythian (54–6). Pindar says he must avoid the sting of slander, *δάκος ἀδινὸν κακαγοριᾶν*, because 'I see from afar cavilling Archilochus, mostly in dire straits, growing fat on abusive enmities':

[12] *Gnomol. Vat.* 1144=*FGrHist* 8 F 6; Campbell 1982–93, iii. 366; T 91b Poltera.

[57]	*εἶδον γὰρ ἑκὰς ἐὼν τὰ πόλλ' ἐν ἀμαχανίαι* *ψογερὸν Ἀρχίλοχον βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσιν* *πιαινόμενον.*

Here is a fifth-century poet looking back at a seventh-century poet and constructing a picture of his life-style and character from his poems—not just quoting something from one poem, as in most of the passages we have been considering. 'I see him from afar': Pindar is conscious of the time-gulf that separates him from Archilochus, but he gazes across it to contemplate a fellow poet and fellow mortal, albeit not one with whom he can feel complete sympathy.

At the beginning of the Second Isthmian Pindar looks back at those earlier poets who composed amatory lyrics:

οἱ μὲν πάλαι ὦ Θρασύβουλε φῶτες, οἳ χρυσαμπύκων
ἐς δίφρον Μοισᾶν ἔβαινον κλυτᾶι φόρμιγγι συναντόμεναι,
ῥίμφα παιδείους ἐτόξευον μελιγάρυας ὕμνους,
ὅστις ἐὼν καλὸς εἶχεν Ἀφροδίτας
εὐθρόνου μνάστειραν ἁδίσταν ὀπώραν.

Those men of old, Thrasybulus, who stepped into
the gold-headband Muses' car in company with the resounding lyre,
readily discharged their honey-voiced songs for lads,
whoever was comely and had that sweetest ripeness
that solicits fair-throned Aphrodite.

We cannot identify the particular poets he had in mind—Ibycus, Anacreon?—but here again we see him taking a corpus of older poetry as his point of departure.

In a papyrus commentary on Alcman a lyric poet is quoted in support of the opinion that Alcman was a native Laconian (P. Oxy. 2389 fr. 9). The poet spoke of some rival to Alcman the 'Laconian builder of skilful Partheneia', *ἀντίφαριν Λάκωνι τέ[κτονι πα]ρθενίων σοφῶν Ἀλκμᾶ[νι*. Pindar seems the likeliest author of the fragment. The rival to Alcman, whoever he is—perhaps Pindar himself—is presumably also a composer of Partheneia. The presupposition is that there is a genre of Maiden Songs, and that in this genre Alcman is the acknowledged master, the yardstick by which others are to be judged.

It is in Pindar, in fact, that we first find a theory of genres. His Third Dirge (fr. 128c) begins:

ἔντι μὲν χρυσαλακάτου τεκέων Λατοῦς ἀοιδαί
ὥριαι παιανίδες· ἔντι [δὲ] καὶ
θάλλοντος ἐκ κισσοῦ στέφανον Διο[νύ]σου
ο[ ] †βρομιπαιόμεναι†.

There are, for the children of gold-distaff Leto, songs
of seasonal paean type; there are also
ones that weave(?) a garland from the springing ivy of Dionysus.

[58] The text here becomes very corrupt, but next came evidently a reference to three types of song established in commemoration of deceased sons of Calliope:

†τὸ δὲ κοίμισαν†
τρεῖς [ ] Καλλιόπας, ὥς οἱ σταθῆι μνάμα<τ>' ἀποφθιμένων·
ἃ μὲν εὐχαίταν Λίνον αἴλινον ὕμνει,
ἃ δ' Ὑμέναιον, <ὃν> ἐν γάμοισι χροϊζόμενον
νυκτὶ σὺν πρώται λάβεν ἔσχατος ὕπνος,[13]
ἃ δὲ < > Ἰάλεμον ὠμοβόλωι
νούσωι πεδαθέντα σθένος.

One of them sang of Linos (Ailinos) of the fair locks;
one of Hymenaeus, who as he lay with his bride
on the first night was taken by his last sleep;
and one of Ialemos, whose vital force
was fettered by cruel blow of sickness.

Then something was said about Orpheus, but the survey of lyric genres appears to be complete. It is of course not comprehensive—nothing about Epinicia, Hymns, or Partheneia—but so far as it goes it is remarkable enough: Paean, Dithyramb, Linos, Hymenaeus, Ialemos, the last perhaps representing the type of dirge that Pindar is writing at the moment. He speaks of these genres not as constructs of human convention but as givens: *there are* songs of paean type, *there are also* ones that weave a garland of ivy. With the songs for the sons of Calliope the text is too corrupt for us to follow what was said about their genesis, but we can understand the attached final clause, ὥς οἱ σταθῆι μνάμα<τ>' ἀποφθιμένων, 'so that memorials should be set up for her of those who had died'. The inference is that these three types of song were established by the Muse herself, or by another divinity on her behalf.

[13] I quote the text as brilliantly restored by W. B. Henry, *ZPE* 128 (1999), 14.

The theory that we extract from that poem may have been an impromptu creation for the nonce; it does not necessarily represent a firm doctrine of Pindar's. Regarding the dithyramb he gave different accounts in different poems. In the Thirteenth Olympian (18 f.), in a short list of Corinth's contributions to Greek culture, the first item that comes to Pindar's mind is the dithyramb:

> *ταὶ Διωνύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανεν*
> *σὺν βοηλάται χάριτες διθυράμβωι;*
>
> From where did Dionysus' delights appear
> with the ox-driving dithyramb?

He is no doubt alluding to the legend about Arion of Methymna, that celebrated citharode who according to Herodotus (1. 23) was 'the first we know of who composed dithyramb and named it and produced it at Corinth'. [59] A scholiast on the ode, however, informs us that in his Hyporchemata (fr. 115) Pindar said that the dithyramb was invented in Naxos, and in his First Dithyramb (fr. 71) that it was invented in Thebes. Without having his own words we cannot tell how explicitly he made these claims. The presupposition is anyway that the dithyramb had a *πρῶτος εὑρετής*.

We get the impression that Pindar has the concept of an evolutionary history in which a succession of innovators in different parts of Greece created and modified the various poetic and musical forms. This is confirmed by a series of fragments in which he makes mention of various early musicians, some of them semi-legendary. He related the encounter between Olympus and Silenus (fr. 157). He referred to Terpander as the inventor of the skolion and of the barbitos (fr. 125); having mentioned or perhaps apostrophized the barbitos, probably in an Enkomion, he goes on:

> *τόν ῥα Τέρπανδρός ποθ' ὁ Λέσβιος εὗρεν*
> *πρῶτος, ἐν δείπνοισι Λυδῶν*
> *ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον ὑψηλᾶς ἀκούων πακτίδος.*
>
> Which Terpander once, the Lesbian, first invented,
> as he heard at the Lydians' banquets
> the answering plucked note of the tall harp.

Here we have not just a tradition about who invented the barbitos, but a theory of how he came to have the idea: Terpander wanted to make a lyre that would produce the softer, deeper tones of the Lydian harp with its octave-doubling. This is not necessarily Pindar's own

original theory; he might have had it from Lasus of Hermione, reputedly his teacher and the author of the first book about music.

Somewhere else (fr. 188) he referred to another famous seventh-century poet and musician, Polymnestus of Colophon. Polymnestus was an aulete whom the musicological writers credit with having invented new enharmonic intervals, new *nomoi*, and new forms of scale and rhythm, and he was also remembered as a poet of elegiac and hexameter verse. He is said to have been already mentioned by Alcman (*PMGF* 145). Pindar's reference is to a well-known saying of his (*φθέγγμα πάγκοινον*), perhaps a poetic quotation, perhaps anecdotal—the saying itself is not preserved. Another such poet-aulete was Sacadas of Argos, who won victories at the Pythian Games in 586, 582, and 578. He too was somewhere mentioned by Pindar (fr. 269).

In a lyric poem of uncertain genre (fr. 140b=Paean G9 Rutherford) Pindar begins with some verses about the invention of a certain *harmonia* for the auloi, presumably one he is himself using or developing. He says it was invented by someone from Locri, *Λοκρῶν τις*. It is usually assumed that the *harmonia* in question is the Locrian, although the first line said something about Ionian. The Locrian *harmonia* was later associated with Xenocritus, a l[60] composer of heroic narrative songs in the manner of Stesichorus,[14] but if this is the *harmonia* that Pindar has in mind, he either does not know of that attribution or is for some reason being coy about naming Xenocritus. In any case he is airing his musical science and giving it a historical dimension.

We have seen that Pindar has an extensive familiarity with the poetry of the past. This poetry was the main source of his mythological knowledge, though he sometimes felt entitled to make changes. He himself has told us that 'we know Nestor and Sarpedon from resounding verses such as skilled craftsmen have fitted together'. In the majestic opening strophe of the Delian Paean VIIb Sn.–M. (=C2 Rutherford) he indicates that he will not follow Homer's well-worn track; he probably means that he is going to give an account of the birth of Apollo that departs from that in the Homeric Hymn.[15] The Homeric Hymn, of course, had a special

[14] Sch. *Ol.* 10. 18b, who quotes Call. fr. 669; in Poll. 4. 65 *Φιλοξένου* must be an error for *Ξενοκρίτου* (Westphal).

[15] Cf. Rutherford 2001, 247–9.

status for the Delians. It, or at least the Delian portion of it, was composed for performance at Delos, and according to the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* (18) its text was displayed there on a painted panel. Pindar may therefore have felt that he ought to warn the Delians that he was going to tell a divergent story. But it is significant that he knows the Hymn and regards it as the primary source for the myth of Apollo's birth.

It is quite likely that there were already books in circulation in which a number of 'the Hymns of Homer' had been gathered together, though not yet the particular collection that was current in Roman times and that we have. Somewhere Pindar referred to the story of how Hera was trapped fast in the throne made for her by Hephaestus (fr. 283). The tale had been told by Alcaeus (frr. 349a–e Voigt), but the *locus classicus* for it was certainly the fragmentarily preserved Homeric Hymn to Dionysus (no. 1 in our editions), and this was likely enough Pindar's source.[16]

We have seen that he makes reference to Cyclic epics. I have referred to his quotations of the *Thebaid* in the Sixth Olympian and probably of the *Epigonoi* in the Eighth Pythian, and to his several allusions to the suicide of Ajax, in connection with which he names Homer. That is not all. In the Third Nemean, for example, where again the Aeacidae claim their meed of praise, he recalls a series of exploits of Peleus, Telamon, and especially Achilles, from his childhood in Chiron's tutelage to his successes at Troy. He introduces them with an appeal to older tradition: *λεγόμενον δὲ τοῦτο προτέρων ἔπος ἔχω* (52). We cannot identify all his sources, but towards the end of the passage there is particular emphasis on Achilles' victory over Memnon, and this must be based on the *Aethiopis*. Chiron nurtured the young hero and fortified his spirit by every means,

|[61] *ὄφρα θαλασσίαις ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι πεμφθείς*
ὑπὸ Τροΐαν δορίκτυπον ἀλαλὰν Λυκίων τε προσμένοι καὶ Φρυγῶν
Δαρδάνων τε, καὶ ἐγχεσφόροις ἐπιμείξαις
Αἰθιόπεσσι χεῖρας ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ', ὅπως σφίσι μὴ κοίρανος ὀπίσω
πάλιν οἶκαδ' ἀνεψιὸς ζαμενὴς Ἑλένοιο Μέμνων μόλοι.

[16] On the Homeric hymn see West 2001*b* and 2003, 26–31; on the history of the collection, ibid. 20–2.

So that sent by the winds' sea-blasts to Troy
he might withstand the war-cries of Lycians and Phrygians and
Dardanians,
and joining battle with the Aethiop spearmen
determine in his heart that their king should not return home,
that furious cousin of Helenus, Memnon. (59–63)

The designation of Memnon as the cousin of Helenus shows a meticulous interest in genealogy; Memnon's father Tithonus was the brother of Helenus' father Priam. In the Sixth Nemean (49–54) Pindar again uses Achilles' triumph over Memnon as a prime example of Aeacid prowess and fame, and he alludes to the older poetry in which this had been related:

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν παλαιότεροι
ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτὸν εὗρον· ἔπομαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων μελέταν.

And as for this, men of older time
found it for a highway; and I follow it myself studiously.

In two other odes, the Second Olympian (79–83) and the Fifth Isthmian (39–42), he groups together the three outstanding heroes that Achilles killed: Cycnus, Hector, and Memnon, spanning the *Cypria*, *Iliad*, and *Aethiopis*. In the Isthmian he adds a fourth major victim, also from the *Cypria*, Telephus, not killed but famously wounded. In the Olympian he refers also to Thetis' having taken her son following his death, after begging Zeus' permission, to the Isles of the Blest; this does not agree exactly with the *Aethiopis*, where Achilles was transported to his own island of Leuke in the Black Sea, but it is easily derived from it. Pindar does refer to the Black Sea island in another ode (*Nem.* 4. 49).

There is a similar summary celebration of Achilles' career from birth to death in the Eighth Isthmian (36–7, 46–60). Again Pindar picks out the wounding of Telephus and the killing of Hector and Memnon, which left Troy emasculated and secured victory for the Atridae and the recovery of Helen. But this time he adds some lines about Achilles' funeral (56a–60):

τὸν μὲν οὐδὲ θανόντ' ἀοιδαὶ <ἐπ>έλιπον,
ἀλλά οἱ παρά τε πυρὰν τάφον θ' Ἑλικώνιαι παρθένοι
στάν, ἐπὶ θρῆνόν τε πολύφαμον ἔχεαν.
ἔδοξ' ἦρα καὶ ἀθανάτοις
ἐσλόν γε φῶτα καὶ φθίμενον ὕμνοις θεᾶν διδόμεν.

Not even in death did songs forsake him,
but by his pyre and tomb the Heliconian maidens
l[62] took stand and poured forth their celebrated lament.
So even immortals saw fit
to commend a fine man even in death to the goddesses' hymns.

Again Pindar has the *Aethiopis* in view, where it was related how the Muses joined the Nereids in lamenting Achilles.[17] He alludes to Achilles' funeral also in the Sixth Paean (D6 Rutherford), line 99.

I am not aiming to give a thorough account of Pindar's use of the Epic Cycle. There are other clear examples, but the ones I have given are I think the most telling. I turn now to the Hesiodic corpus. I have mentioned the place in the Sixth Isthmian where Pindar cites Hesiod by name, referring to a line in the *Works and Days*. It is pretty clear that he also knew the *Theogony*. There is evidence that he was acquainted with at least some of the other poetry that went under Hesiod's name in antiquity, whether or not he knew it as Hesiod's—it is likely enough that he did. In the Sixth Pythian (19–27) Thrasybulus, who has won a chariot victory for his father Xenocrates, is praised for observing the advice that they say Chiron once gave Achilles in the mountains: above all to revere Zeus, but never to withhold due honour from one's parents. We would guess that this came from the well-known poem containing the centaur's precepts to Achilles, namely the Hesiodic *Precepts of Chiron*, and in fact the scholiast says 'the *Precepts of Chiron* they ascribe to Hesiod; they begin . . .' (and then he quotes the first three lines, = 'Hes.' fr. 283). The currency of the poem in the fifth century is confirmed by parodies in Old Comedy.[18] Pindar then proceeds (28–42) to illustrate the rule of honouring one's parents with a story from the *Aethiopis*, that of Antilochus' giving his life for his father Nestor.

Scholiasts identify Hesiodic sources in two other odes. In the Sixth Isthmian (35–56), well before the reference to the *Works and Days*, Pindar relates how Heracles visited Telamon to enlist him as a companion in his expedition against Troy and found a banquet in progress. Telamon called upon him to stand on his lion-skin and pour a libation. Heracles did so, raised his arms to heaven, and prayed to Zeus that Telamon might father a heroic son with a skin as

[17] Proclus; reflected in *Od.* 24. 58–61.

[18] Pindar himself actually uses the phrase 'the precepts of Chiron', ταὶ δὲ Χείρωνος ἐντολαί, in fr. 177(c), but we have no idea of the context.

impenetrable as the lion's, whereupon Zeus sent an eagle as an omen. Heracles rejoiced and prophesied that the desired son would be born, and told Telamon to call him Αἴας after the αἰετός. The scholiast reports that the story is taken from the *Megalai Ehoiai* (fr. 250), with the minor difference that there Heracles stepped on the lion-skin on his own initiative, not Telamon's. The prayer, the eagle omen, and the aition of Ajax's name were all there. This nexus of literary motifs is persuasive evidence that Pindar was indeed following the hexameter source.

I[63] In the Ninth Pythian he tells the story of the Lapith princess Cyrene, a feisty girl who preferred wrestling with lions to weaving. Apollo, following Chiron's guidance, carried her off from the vales of Pelion and set her down in Libya. There she gave birth to Aristaeus, who is also Apollon Nomios, and there the city named after her grew up. At the beginning of the recital the scholiast notes, 'Pindar took the story from the *Ehoie* of Hesiod that begins . . .' (and he quotes the first two lines,='Hes.' fr. 215). We also have it on Servius' authority that Hesiod gave Aristaeus, the son of Apollo and Cyrene, the name of *Apollo pastoralis*, that is, Ἀπόλλων Νόμιος (=fr. 216). Apart from that we cannot tell how closely the Pindaric narrative matched the Hesiodic, but we may accept that this was his main source, perhaps his only one; there cannot have been much choice.

We do not know how to fit the Cyrene *Ehoie* into the structure of the *Catalogue of Women*, and Giovan Battista D'Alessio has recently argued that it belonged rather in the *Megalai Ehoiai*, the same poem as supplied Pindar with the story about Heracles and Telamon.[19] The relationship between the *Ehoiai* (=the *Catalogue*) and the *Megalai Ehoiai* remains obscure, though there is a consensus that they were separate poems.

The Third Pythian also contains a narrative, the story of Coronis, that has often been thought to reflect a Hesiodic *Ehoie*. The scholiast does not say as much in this case, though he does at two points quote Hesiodic fragments (60, 61) that favour the hypothesis. However, there are problems about reconciling it with other evidence for 'Hesiod', which I will not go into.[20] The question does not affect the big picture.

[19] G. B. D'Alessio in Hunter 2005, 206–7.

[20] See the recent discussions by Hirschberger 2004, 334–5, and D'Alessio (as n. 19), 208–10.

In the Fourth and Fifth Nemeans (4. 54–67, 5. 26–34) Pindar recalls the story of Peleus, whom Acastus' wife tried unsuccessfully to seduce and then denounced to her husband in the traditional manner. Acastus tried to kill him in the mountains, but he was saved by Chiron. He then attacked and took Iolcus, and married Thetis. The scholiast quotes some Hesiodic lines (fr. 209) about Acastus' attempt on Peleus' life, and we have other Hesiodic evidence for the failed seduction and the taking of Iolcus. There seem to have been some differences of detail in the Pindaric version, but we need not doubt that here again he is following a Hesiodic model.

He did not treat this catalogue poetry just as a fund of mythical narratives. He apprehended from it whole genealogical structures. In the Fourth Pythian, when Jason comes to Iolcus to claim his rightful patrimony from the usurper Pelias, he has a sound grasp of his pedigree. He says he has come to regain the honour that Zeus granted to Aeolus (107). One heifer, he reminds Pelias, was mother both to Cretheus and to Salmoneus, and we are sprung from them in the third generation (142–5):

[64] μία βοῦς Κρηθεῖ τε μάτηρ
καὶ θρασυμήδει Σαλμωνεῖ· τρίταισιν δ' ἐν γοναῖς
ἄμμες αὖ κείνων φυτευθέντες σθένος ἀελίου χρύσεον
λεύσσομεν.

Cretheus and Salmoneus were two of Aeolus' sons. Salmoneus was Pelias' mortal father (his genetic father being Poseidon); Cretheus was the father of Aeson, the father of Jason. Pindar has internalized the Hesiodic genealogy and used it to set the story of Jason in a larger perspective. Many other examples might be cited.

Another hexameter poem that Pindar may have encountered is the *Arimaspea* of Aristeas, which we know about mainly from Herodotus (4. 13–15). The Platonist Celsus spoke of Aristeas' mysterious disappearance and of his reappearance much later with a remarkable tale to tell, and Origen says that Celsus appeared to have got the story from Pindar and Herodotus.[21] Perhaps Pindar just knew the legend about Aristeas and not the poem; but the two are intimately linked in Herodotus' account, and he implies that the poem was well known: 4. 14. 3 τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀριμάσπεα καλεῖται.

[21] Origen, *c. Cels.* 3. 26 = Pind. fr. 271; cf. Bolton 1962, 127, 211–12.

On the other hand it is not chronologically impossible that what Pindar knew of Aristeas came directly from Herodotus, who, after all, claims to have put the legend together on the basis of his inquiries in Cyzicus, Proconnesus, and Metapontum.[22] Pindar's interests were primarily poetic, but there is no reason why he should not have been acquainted also with prose authors whose subject matter attracted him. He might well have read an author such as Hecataeus, for example. In the First Pythian (92–4) he advises Deinomenes that it is men's posthumous repute alone that provides information about their lives *καὶ λογίοις καὶ ἀοιδοῖς*, 'to storytellers and poets': it seems natural to take *λόγιοι* in this coupling as referring to prose writers.[23] He proceeds to name Croesus and Phalaris as paradigms of men whose good and bad characters are kept alive in story.

At this point we must confront the question whether Pindar was a 'man of letters' in the literal sense, a man who read and wrote and operated with books.

Early Greek poetry, we know, lived in performance. In Pindar's time it was still probably the case that most Greeks knew their Homer from hearing recitations rather than from reading. Those who did not have the opportunity or the stamina to sit through the complete performances of the *Iliad* and I[65] *Odyssey* at the Great Panathenaea at Athens may have been familiar only with the more popular episodes that the rhapsodes favoured.

On the other hand the upper class had been to school and learned to read and write, studying selections from Homer and other poets. After the Persian Wars we find an increasing number of literary and artistic references to reading and writing, clearly reflecting the growth of literacy. Among the cultural benefits he has conferred on mankind pseudo-Aeschylus' Prometheus includes *γραμμάτων συνθέσεις, μνήμην ἁπάντων, μουσομήτορ' ἐργάνην*, 'combinings of letters (to preserve) the memory of everything, handmaid mother of Muses' (*PV* 460–1). By the end of the century it appears from various pieces of evidence that it was not uncommon for individuals, at least at Athens, to own books on subjects that interested them and to use them for private edification.[24]

[22] For a searching critique of Herodotus' argument see Stephanie West in Tuplin 2004, 43–67.

[23] Cf. *Nem.* 6. 29 f. *παροιχομένων γὰρ ἀνέρων ἀοιδαὶ καὶ λόγοι* (*λόγιοι* codd., unmetrically) *τὰ καλά σφιν ἔργ' ἐκόμισαν.*

[24] See Pfeiffer 1968, 25–32; West 2001*a*, 20–1.

Poetry had been current in written form for two hundred years before Pindar, and prose works too since the mid sixth century. There must have been a certain number of people, however small, who read books and copied them and built up little collections of them. Pythagoras may have been one such man. Heraclitus (B 129) says of him that he 'practised inquiry most of all men, and selecting these writings he took to himself expertise, learning, knavery':

Πυθαγόρης Μνησάρχου ἱστορίην ἤσκησεν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων, καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ταύτας τὰς συγγραφὰς ἐποιήσατο ἑωυτοῦ σοφίην, πολυμαθίην, κακοτεχνίην.

Heraclitus himself, as I mentioned earlier, refers to a whole series of poets, prose writers, and sages besides Pythagoras: Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Xenophanes, Thales, Bias of Priene, Hecataeus. With Thales and Bias it was presumably a matter of reported sayings, but for at least some of the others I suspect that written texts were in question.

The question arises more acutely with Pindar. How would he have known Alcman's Partheneia, if not from a book? They must after all have been current in written transmission throughout the sixth and fifth centuries, or they would not have survived to Alexandria. How would he have known Archilochus' Iambi? There are a couple of isolated references to performance of Archilochus' poetry,[25] but is it likely that Pindar heard enough of it performed to generalize about his life? He might know the *Iliad* from hearing the rhapsodes, but how often did they recite the *Cypria*, the *Aethiopis*, the *Nostoi*, the *Thebaid*, the *Epigonoi*? The *Works and Days*? The *Catalogue of Women*, or the *Megalai Ehoiai*? In the case of these Hesiodic works, I am doubtful whether they were ever to be heard in oral performance at all. The [66] *Catalogue of Women* is in my view a sixth-century attempt at a grand synthesis of mythical genealogies, an undertaking similar to those of the fifth-century logographers. Its author may himself have used written as well as oral sources. I see it, in short, as an essentially literary entity.

Pindar must have been accustomed to handling books. His own poems were composed for performance in the first instance, but he must have kept copies of them all. The large corpus of his works that was preserved must go back to his own personal collection: it is not

[25] Heraclitus B 42; Clearchus fr. 92 Wehrli.

credible that it was formed by someone going round Greece and Sicily and collecting copies from all the customers.[26] Perhaps Pindar dictated his texts to a copyist; he need not have written them out in his own hand. But he was surely fully literate. His mind turns readily to metaphorical use of the verb 'to write'. In the Third Olympian (30) he uses it of the nymph Taygete's dedicating a hind and 'writing it sacred to Artemis', ἄν ποτε Ταϋγέτα ἀντιθεῖσ' Ὀρθωσίας ἔγραψεν ἱράν, as if a dedicatory inscription were involved. He opens the Tenth Olympian with the striking command 'Read out to me the Olympic victor son of Archestratus, where he is inscribed on my mind':

> τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ἀνάγνωτέ μοι
> Ἀρχεστράτου παῖδα, πόθι φρενός
> ἐμᾶς γέγραπται.

The term *poeta doctus* is usually reserved for Hellenistic and Roman poets. I submit that it is not inappropriate to Pindar. With his wide knowledge of the poetry of the past and of numerous mythical stories that cannot have been universally familiar, and with his ability to see the myths as parts of a grand structure and the poets as figures in a landscape, he must count as one of the best-educated men that we can identify in his time or before it, a man imbued with literary culture to the highest degree. He does not use his learning like Callimachus, to tease, to collude with the reader and exploit the reader's knowledge, though he is aware that the understanding of his poetry calls for discernment. But like Callimachus he can set himself in dialogue with past poetry, take issue with it, assert the right not

[26] Wilamowitz 1900, 40, thinks primarily in terms of the 'house archives' of Pindar's and Bacchylides' honorands, but adds that the poets' own archives could also be relevant. Pöhlmann 1994, 16, writes 'Sammlungen von Chorlyrik bei den einzelnen Bestellern mag es gegeben haben. Doch werden diese in allen denkbaren Fällen Gedichte gleicher Gattung, aber von verschiedenen Verfassern erhalten haben: Apollonhymnen in Delphi, Epinikien für die sportlichen Siege der Deinomeniden in Syrakus von Simonides, Pindar, Bakchylides und anderen. Daß aus solchen disparaten Quellen die alexandrinische Pindarausgabe von 17 Büchern entstanden sein soll, ist schwer vorstellbar. Man wird daher ... damit rechnen, daß die Chorlyriker selbst Abschriften ihrer Werke sammelten und daß diese tradiert wurden.' He goes on to surmise that Pindar's works could have been preserved in the Aegeids' family house in Thebes, which Alexander is supposed to have spared when he destroyed the city (Vita Pindari Thomana p. 5. 15 Dr., cf. Plut. *Alex.* 11), and the ruins of which were visited by Pausanias (9. 25. 3).

just to carry on the tradition but I[67] on occasion to denounce it as erroneous and proclaim a new version. And when he does so, he does it in a scholarly way. The most notorious instance is his modification of the Pelops story in the First Olympian. He does not pretend to have authority for his version: 'I will contradict my predecessors', he says, *ἀντία προτέρων φθέγξομαι* (36). He rejects their tale that Tantalus put his son in the stewpot and served him up to his divine dinner guests. He cannot bring himself to ascribe such undiscriminating gourmandise to the blessed ones. That horrific myth was too much for the civilized tastes of the fifth century: they preferred to credit their gods with a gentlemanly paedophilia. But Pindar does not simply create a new story, he provides at the same time an explanation of how the false story got into circulation: Poseidon had carried Pelops off for love, and because the boy vanished on the day of the gods' visit the neighbours started to speculate and gossip and spread the ugly rumour that he had been eaten. What Pindar does here is like a textual critic giving his story of how a postulated corruption came about. The critic rejects the manuscripts' reading but accepts that he must take account of it. In the same way Pindar acknowledges that his poetic sources have an authority that he cannot simply ignore but must re-evaluate by insight into the nature of the tradition.

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12

The Chronology of Early Attic Tragedy

Books give three dates earlier than 500:

535/2	Thespis' first production
523/0	Choerilus' first production
511/08	Phrynichus' first victory.

Can we trust them?

City archives, mined by Aristotle for his *Didaskaliai*, preserved a reasonably complete record of dramatic productions in the fifth century. But how far back did these archives go? The so-called Fasti, an inscription set up *c.*346 and listing dithyrambic, comic, and tragic victors year by year, must have been based on the same archives but went back, it is thought, only as far as 502/1.[1] Its heading *πρῶ]τον κῶμοι ἦσαν τ[ῶι Διονύσ]ωι τραγωιδοὶ δ[*, however supplemented, implies an intention of going back to the beginning of things, in other words to the beginning of the archival record. This raises serious doubt as to whether that record went back to the alleged date of Thespis' *première*, or indeed to those given for Choerilus' and Phrynichus'.

We also note that in the list of victorious tragedians in *IG* 2^2. 2325 (*TrGF* DID A 3a) there is space only for about eight poets before Aeschylus, whose name is the first preserved; that is, for eight who

CQ 39 (1989), 251–4.

[1] *IG* 2^2. 2318; see E. Capps, *Hesperia* 12 (1943), 10f.; A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (2nd ed., rev. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford 1968), 71f., 101–25; *TrGF* i^2. 22–5. If another column is lost at the beginning, and if the dithyrambic victories (both men's and boys' choruses) began in 509 or 508 (Marm. Par. *FGrHist* 239 A 46), and if a choregic system already existed under the tyrants, there would have been space for tragic victories going back to 522 or 520; or, if the heading *τραγωιδῶν* was not repeated in each entry in that section, 528 or 526.

won victories before Aeschylus' first win in 484. If records reached back to *c.*533, eight is a remarkably small number. The 112 years after 484, according to the same monument, produced 33 new victors, an average of one every 3.4 years. Extrapolation from this figure would put the beginning of the list *c.*511. If it had begun in 533 we should expect fourteen or fifteen pre-Aeschylean victors by the same reckoning. If there were only eight in 49 years, we should have to assume that the literary tradition ignores several pre-Aeschylean tragedians who were on record as having won many victories.

Suspicions wax when we inspect the foundations on which those dates for Thespis, Choerilus, and Phrynichus rest. They come from the *Suda* entries on the respective poets. Each is given in terms of an Olympiad, without specification of the year or mention of an archonship. They are equidistant: Thespis comes three Olympiads before Choerilus, Choerilus three Olympiads before Phrynichus; while Phrynichus comes three Olympiads before Pratinas, who (again according to the *Suda*) *ἀντηγωνίζετο Αἰσχύλωι τε καὶ Χοιρίλωι ἐπὶ τῆς ο΄ Ὀλυμπιάδος* (=499/6). This last date is perhaps soundly based. It certainly falls within the archival period, and the appearance of the three famous names in the same year in the *Didaskaliai* might well be seized upon by a chronographer as a starting-point.[2] But the three earlier dates look very much like a schematic construction designed to place the three known seniors of Aeschylus and Pratinas in their right order at suitable intervals.

I[252] The immediate source of the *Suda* entries was an epitome of Hesychius of Miletus' *Ὀνοματολογικόν* or *Πίναξ τῶν ἐν παιδείαι ὀνομαστῶν*. The question of Hesychius' sources is murky. One of them appears to have been some derivative of Callimachus' *Pinakes*. This will be the source of the play-titles which the *Suda* cites for Thespis and Phrynichus, and for the numbers given for Choerilus' and Pratinas' plays and victories.[3] Besides these, the entries contain excerpts from a presumably Peripatetic account of the early tragedians' individual innovations, especially in regard to masks and costumes:

[2] This epoch is also mentioned in *Suda* s.v. *Αἰσχύλος* (=Aesch. T 2 Radt): *ἠγωνίζετο . . . ἐν τῆι ο΄* (*θ΄* codd.) *Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐτῶν ὢν κε΄*. The age of twenty-five, in conjunction with the birth-date implied by other ancient reckonings, fixes the year as Ol. 70.2=498. Eusebius gave *Αἰσχύλος τραγωιδοποιὸς ἐγνωρίζετο* under 497/6 (Armenian) or 496/5 (Jerome), and again under 477/6 or 475/4.

[3] Aristophanes' work *πρὸς τοὺς Καλλιμάχου Πίνακας* may come into question. Cf. *Vita Sophoclis* 18, *ἔχει δὲ δράματα, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης, ρλ΄*.

Thespis πρῶτον μὲν χρίσας τὸ πρόσωπον ψιμυθίωι ἐτραγώιδησεν, εἶτα ἀνδράχνηι ἐσκέπασεν ... μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσήνεγκε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσωπείων χρῆσιν, ἐν μόνηι ὀθόνηι κατασκευάσας.

Choerilus κατά τινας τοῖς προσωπείοις καὶ τῆι σκηνῆι (leg. σκευῆι) τῶν στολῶν ἐπεχείρησεν.

Phrynichus πρῶτος γυναικεῖον πρόσωπον εἰσήγαγεν ἐν τῆι σκηνῆι. καὶ εὑρετὴς τοῦ τετραμέτρου ἐγένετο.

Pratinas πρῶτος ἔγραψε Σατύρους.

This is the sort of history that Aristotle alludes to in *Poet.* 1449a37 ff.: the identification of those responsible for each development in the art of tragedy, who invented masks, prologues, plural actors, etc.

The Thespis entry also contains the curious information that Thespis was ἐκκαιδέκατος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου γενομένου τραγωιδοποιοῦ Ἐπιγένους τοῦ Σικυωνίου τιθέμενος· ὡς δέ τινες, δεύτερος μετὰ Ἐπιγένην· ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτὸν πρῶτον τραγικὸν γενέσθαι φασίν. What kind of source was it that was able to name fifteen predecessors of Thespis, beginning with Epigenes of Sicyon? I nominate the fanciful Heraclides Ponticus, who in his Συναγωγὴ τῶν ἐν μουσικῆι εὐδοκιμησάντων filled out early literary history with crowds of legendary and semi-legendary poets and singers,[4] and who cited as one of his authorities ἡ ἀναγραφὴ ἡ ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀποκειμένη, δι' ἧς τάς τε ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἄργει καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ τοὺς μουσικοὺς ὀνομάζει.[5] This Sicyonian inscription was itself a rather imaginative chronicle, set up by some local dilettante presumably earlier in the fourth century.[6] No doubt it promoted Sicyonian claims to have invented tragedy (for which the famous reference in Herodotus 5. 67. 5 provided a handle), naming Epigenes and others in this connection.[7]

But against Heraclides' account of Thespis as the sixteenth tragedian the *Suda*'s source set the contrary view that he was the first. So here is an opponent of Heraclides who dismisses the ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα of Sicyonian vanity and concentrates on historical Attic developments. We find a parallel to this in *Suda*/Phot. s.v. οὐδὲν

[4] Fr. 157 Wehrli (*ap.* ps.-Plut. *De musica* 1131f ff.); cf. fr. 159.

[5] Ps.-Plut. ibid.

[6] Jacoby ad *FGrHist* 550.

[7] Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1448a30–5 ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τε τραγωιδίας καὶ τῆς κωμωιδίας οἱ Δωριεῖς, τῆς μὲν γὰρ κωμωιδίας οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ... καὶ τῆς τραγωιδίας ἔνιοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσωι.

πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον:[8] a first explanation that connects the saying with Epigenes of Sicyon, and then a preferred alternative (βέλτιον δὲ οὕτως) that connects it with the (supposed) evolution of tragedy from Σατυρικά. This is an Aristotelian perspective, and in this case the source is named: καὶ Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῶι περὶ Θέσπιδος τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ (fr. 38 Wehrli=48 Giordano).

I[253] Chamaeleon's essay on Thespis was one of several he devoted to drama: περὶ Σατύρων, περὶ Αἰσχύλου, περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμωιδίας (this in at least six books) are also cited. We know of at least one other occasion on which he criticized his fellow-Heracleot Heraclides;[9] though he was not the only one to assail the latter's ebullient frauds.[10]

The bulk of the *Suda*'s information on Thespis, then, may go back to Chamaeleon—author of the only known work περὶ Θέσπιδος—reflecting his polemic against Heraclides Ponticus. The parallel entries on Choerilus, Phrynichus, and Pratinas perhaps derive from the same original account, if not from other Peripatetic work.

The Olympiadic chronology attached to them, however, must be attributed to a later source. It is not only expressed in Olympiads in the *Suda* but must have been conceived in Olympiads from the beginning, as the twelve-year intervals between poets do not represent natural units by any other reckoning. Timaeus was the first who made use of Olympiads for purposes of universal chronology, and the practice is foreign to the Peripatetics. In any case Chamaeleon's interest in literary history seems to have been of a jovial character and unconcerned with dates.

The first student of literature who dated by Olympiads—who, indeed, constructed a whole historical chronology expressed on the Olympiadic system—was Eratosthenes.[11] His interest in the origins of drama is attested by a well-known fragment from his *Erigone.*[12] He

[8] Cf. Apostol. 13. 42. Snell in *TrGF* 1 T 18 gives precedence to the fuller form in the proverb-collection of Paris. Coisl. 177; but see the warning of W. Bühler, *Zenobii Athoi proverbia*, i (Göttingen 1987), 278.

[9] Diog. Laert. 5. 92 Χαμαιλέων τε {τὰ} παρ' ἑαυτοῦ φησι κλέψαντα αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὁμήρου γράψαι,=fr. 46 Wehrli, 57 Giordano.

[10] Aristoxenus accused Heraclides of forging plays of Thespis (Diog. Laert. ibid.=Aristox. fr. 114 Wehrli, *TrGF* 1 T 24). Aristoxenus was given to making charges of forgery, cf. Wehrli ad loc.

[11] Cf. Jacoby on *FGrHist* 241; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, i (Oxford 1968), 163 f., 169; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972), i. 456 f.

[12] Fr. 22 Powell; cf. Pfeiffer, op. cit. 169 n. 2.

seems to be the first who could have been responsible for spacing Thespis, Choerilus, Phrynichus, and Pratinas/Aeschylus at three-Olympiad intervals, and he is a plausible suspect. If it was not he, it was someone who used his method of reckoning.

The date constructed for Thespis by this procedure, Ol. 61=535/2, was close to other estimates. The Parian Marble, which is earlier than any likely date for Eratosthenes' chronological work, and anyway independent of it and still untouched by Olympiadic reckoning, put Thespis somewhere between 538 and 528.[13] Eusebius appears to have synchronized him with Simonides, Phocylides, and Xenophanes under the year 540/39 or thereabouts.[14] The anecdote in Plutarch, *Solon* 29. 6–7 (cf. Diog. Laert. 1. 59), puts Thespis' inauguration of tragedy in the time of Pisistratus, though with Solon still alive and making tetchy comments on current affairs. It was the general belief, then, from as far back as we can see (i.e. from the time of the Parian Marble, 264/3 BCE), that Thespis lived under Pisistratus.

|[254] Eratosthenes—or whoever it was—may have made himself a more exact dating by reckoning back one 33-year generation (a unit presupposed elsewhere in Eratosthenes' system) from the appearance of Pratinas and Aeschylus in Ol. 70, using the conversion-formula '33 years before=the ninth Olympiad before'.[15] This put Thespis a comfortable five years or so before the death of Pisistratus in Ol. 63.1. The nine-Olympiad period could be conveniently trisected to obtain starting-up dates for Choerilus and Phrynichus.

[13] Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium* (Berlin 1904), 172; *FGrHist* 239 A 43; *TrGF* 1 T 2. There is no justification for assuming, as is commonly done, that the Parian chronicle placed Thespis in the same Olympiad as does the *Suda*. (Sometimes one actually sees it cited as the source for this date.) What is preserved of its dating is ἔτη *HHΓ*[ ] (*sc.* years before 264/3). The number of letter-spaces in the gap is assessed at three, but it must be borne in mind that in these numerals two or three unit-signs can fit into one letter-space. Possible restorations are accordingly: [*ΔΔΠ*]=(Dionysia) 538 or 537 (the chronicler is inconsistent as to whether he uses inclusive or non-inclusive reckoning), [*ΔΔIII*]=536 or 535, [*ΔΔII*]=535 or 534, [*ΔΔI*]=534 or 533, [*ΔΠIIII*]=531 or 530, [*ΔΠII*]=530 or 529, [*ΔΠI*]=529 or 528, [*ΔIIII*]=527 or 526. But the archon-name,]ναίου τοῦ προτέρου, rules out 527 and 526, as the archons for these years are known.

[14] Not 541 as in *TrGF* i DID D 3. The tragedian whose name has fallen out cannot be anyone but Thespis.

[15] A strict reckoning from Ol. 70.2, however, would only have reached back to Ol. 62.1 (=531). It is not certain whether Eratosthenes subdivided Olympiads. Possibly 531, arrived at by a parallel (but non-Olympiadic) calculation from 498, was the date on the Parian Marble.

If the grounds for this analysis are judged reasonable, we should cease to treat the dates 535/2, 523/0, and 511/08 as fixed points in the early history of tragedy, however comforting it is to have such. We can accept that Phrynichus was somewhat older than Aeschylus, and Choerilus probably older still.[16] As for Thespis, we can do no more than acquiesce in the ancient belief that his activity began under Pisistratus. It is sometimes conjectured, even asserted, that it began in connection with a reorganization of the City Dionysia by the tyrant. Obviously the Dionysia grew in magnificence in the second half of the sixth century; they continued to do so in the fifth. It is not implausible that Pisistratus should have assisted the process by some particular initiative of his own. But it should be remembered that this is a mere assumption. Books which refer to a reorganization in 533 are retailing speculation pegged to a date for Thespis which is itself unreliable.

[16] The figure of 160 dramas attributed to him in the *Suda* would presuppose a long career; but it is scarcely credible. It contrasts violently with the figures of four for Thespis and nine for Phrynichus (even though the nine listed represent only a fraction of an alphabetic list). And if the *Didaskaliai* began in 502/1, there simply cannot have been room for so many titles of Choerilus.

13

The Religious Interpretation of Myth in Aeschylus

Myth is something which by its very nature is open to different interpretations. At the most basic level, a myth is a narrative structure. It is related that at some time in the past, a time which may be defined by reference to other traditional events or left indefinite, a certain situation arose and certain things happened in a certain sequence. In order to be classified as myth, the story must achieve some currency: it must be repeated by different people, and the originator of the story must be unknown to those who repeat it, because if the story is known to have been invented by a particular person it will be regarded as fiction with no claim to truth. A myth is not necessarily believed to be true, but it does purport to relate actual happenings, and if it is deprived of the possibility of making this claim because a particular person is known to have invented it, then it is useless as a myth. It cannot perform any of the functions that myths perform, such as providing the community with a history, accounting for the divisions of tribes or lands, justifying the existing order, explaining the origin and nature of the world or particular things in it, giving reasons for customs, rituals, or taboos.

Since a myth must be repeated by different people in order to qualify as a myth, it will exist in differing versions. Of course, it may be embodied in a traditional poem or song transmitted in a more or less unchanging form by professional reciters, but more usually it will be handed down by less formal methods. We must not make the mistake of identifying the myth with a recital of the myth. The myth is an abstraction from various recitals. When we speak of the

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myth of Oedipus, for example, we do not mean Sophocles' play *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the most famous literary work in which the myth is represented; we mean the basic story pattern common to the Cyclic epic *Oidipodeia*, the logographer Pherecydes, various plays by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and the many references to the story in other authors. One cannot say, 'I have read the Oedipus myth': a myth is not something you read or hear, it exists independently of particular recitals, though on the other hand it can only be manifested through particular recitals. The myth is only one element in the recital, the bare outline of the story. It is for the reciter to create an impression of the persons involved in the story, their characters and personalities, and to add circumstantial detail to make the story longer, more satisfying, more plausible, or more astonishing. Thus he is in a position to manipulate and modify the connections between the basic events given by the myth. He can provide the characters with new motivation, or introduce external determinants such as gods who shape events according to their laws or their designs. He can emphasize [226] one theme in the story and give it the central significance. In this way the myth takes on a distinctive form in each recital, and in many cases we can speak of an individual interpretation.

Particular literary genres or traditions naturally accommodate myths to their own conventions, and this is one important factor affecting the way in which the myth is treated. Let us take Greek epic, lyric, and tragedy. In epic poetry stories are told on a very ample scale. There is a straightforward chronological progression from beginning to end. A speaking character may recall some earlier event, either as the starting-point from which the current situation developed or as a parallel, but the poet does not seem to use this device in order to communicate important interpretations of his own or to make significant connections that are not already inherent in the narrative. Nor does he comment on the events he describes, except by portraying the natural reactions and comments of the participants. He does not, for example, philosophize about the story or remark that it illustrates such and such a general rule. He represents actions as following from plans, proposals, debates, or the promptings of gods; the gods act according to their own pleasure, or rather, they are manipulated by the poet so as to bring about the events he wants to happen among men. There is also another way in which the epic poet may treat myth. He may, while telling one story,

refer briefly to another, summarizing it in a few lines. Such passages are important for us, because we rely on them for our knowledge of the epic versions of some of the myths treated by Aeschylus—the Oedipus story, and the murder of Agamemnon.

Among the lyric poets, Stesichorus can be compared with Homer in his use of large, linear narrative, and in a sense he is a kind of epic writer. But there are differences in his approach. We find him explicitly rejecting one version of a myth—the usual version—in favour of what seems to be a novel version. 'This story is not true', he says, addressing the goddess Helen. 'You did not go in that ship, you never got to Troy.' An epic poet might discard a version of a myth, but we cannot imagine him saying explicitly that that was what he was doing. Pindar too can do it. There is a well known example in his First Olympian ode where he rejects the traditional story of the gods eating Pelops' flesh. He not only substitutes a new version more acceptable to his aesthetic sense, he supplies an explanation of how the conventional version originated in the malicious invention or speculation of neighbours who did not know the real reason for Pelops' disappearance following a visit by the gods. The lyric poet can discuss his myth, as the epic poet cannot, because the lyric poem is not cast in the narrative mode throughout. The myth stands in a non-narrative frame. Usually it is introduced in order to illustrate some particular theme or general truth. This necessarily involves one particular aspect of the myth being emphasized, to suit the immediate needs of the poet. We may say that a particular interpretation is being put on the myth. In many cases the myth is only an incidental element in the poem, and it can only be related in summary form. When the poet gives more |[227] than a brief résumé of events, he concentrates on one or two scenes from the story and gives them dramatic life, while abbreviating the rest.

In tragedy myths are acted out by men playing the parts of the heroes involved in the story. I say acted out, but the emphasis is on speech much more than on visible action. What is presented to us is above all the heroes' comments on the successive situations in which they find themselves, and their reactions to them. There is much of this in Homer too, but there only as part of a narrative in the reciter's mouth. Another feature of tragedy is the chorus, which presents another level of reactions to the story, the reactions of ordinary people who are present as events unfold but who are not so directly affected by them as are the main characters. The chorus sings during

intervals in the action, and it may meditate at length on what has been happening, or what appears to be about to happen. The chorus can comment on these happenings from a moral or religious point of view. It can make comparisons with other famous stories; it can point out connections with previous events. Its songs go a long way towards making explicit the poet's interpretation of the myth he has chosen as the basis for his play, though there is also much to be found in the dialogue of the main characters that points in this direction.

The gods are treated rather differently in epic and in tragedy. The epic reciter is able to tell us exactly what the gods are doing, what they say to each other, which of them is intervening in human affairs, and what is the effect of the intervention. Occasionally he represents them as manifesting themselves to humans and conversing with them; but for the most part humans are represented as not knowing what the gods are doing but having to speculate and make inferences from what they see happening. In tragedy the narrator is absent, and the audience must content itself with the speculation and inference of the characters and chorus. Only after the event does it become certain what Zeus was planning; and even then his motives remain a matter for speculation. The heroes in epic are in a similar position, but the audience of the epic poet is more privileged.

That is one difference between epic and tragedy with regard to the gods, but there are others of no less importance. In epic, although Zeus is supreme and whatever happens in the end is identified with Zeus' will, many other gods are also active, influencing the direction of events at least temporarily. These other gods do not act in obedience to any common principle of justice but according to their own individual loves and hates. Zeus himself is not conspicuously concerned with punishing wrongdoers and protecting the righteous, at least in the *Iliad*; he shows more of such concern in the *Odyssey*, but the poet does not put much emphasis on the idea that the killing of the suitors illustrates the working of divine justice. In tragedy, especially Aeschylean tragedy, the Olympians generally appear as a more unified and responsible body. Often 'Zeus' and 'the gods' are used as interchangeable terms. They watch over human behaviour and ensure that sooner or later the impious and the wicked are punished. There is a strong tendency to evaluate human conduct in religious [228] terms and to make 'pious', 'impious' into synonyms of 'morally good', 'wicked'. Triumph and disaster are automatically taken to be the gods' doing. There is constant reference to the gods,

and altogether we may say that Aeschylus likes to see the stories with which he deals in a religious light, to put a religious interpretation on the events he portrays.

Let us first consider the story of the Trojan War. It satisfies our sense of justice that Menelaus should get his stolen wife back in the end, and that the Trojans should suffer for having kept her and refused to give her back. But this justice does not have to be conceived as a matter for the gods. In the epic there is remarkably little hint of the idea that the gods will ensure the destruction of Troy as punishment for the abduction of Helen. It is expressed only once in the *Iliad*, in a hopeful prediction by Menelaus that Zeus Xenios is offended by the abduction and will one day bring the city down (13. 623–7). In other passages the Trojans' defeat is connected with their breach of the truce in book 4 (4. 155–68), or with the enmity of Poseidon, Hera, and Athena towards Troy because of private grievances (24. 25–30). We have not got the Cyclic epics in which the sack of Troy was described, but there is no evidence that any more emphasis was placed on the idea of divine justice there.

Contrast the way the event is treated by Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon*. The chorus at its first entry describes the two sons of Atreus as having been sent against Alexandros by Zeus Xenios: it compares them to vultures robbed of their young, whose complaint has been heard by the gods with the result that vengeance is sent upon the wrongdoers (49–67). Later, after hearing the news that Troy has fallen, the chorus praises Zeus Xenios for having accomplished it: he has long had his bow aimed at Alexandros, he was only waiting for the right moment to shoot. There are those who say that the gods take no notice when men violate what they should not touch, but, the chorus continues, this is an impious doctrine. Wrongdoing cannot escape punishment. They go on to describe the course of the malady. The terrible temptation that is the child of perverted imagining overpowers a man, and all antidotes are in vain. The corruption cannot be hidden, it shines out with a baleful light. There is a black stain on his soul. He is like the boy who chases a bird he can never catch: he brings an intolerable affliction upon his people. No god listens to his prayers, but destroys the man who practises such wrongful acts. And that is the case of Paris, who came to the house of Menelaus and dishonoured the table of hospitality by stealing his wife (355–402).

Presently Agamemnon's Herald arrives to confirm the message that the war is over. He says that Agamemnon should be given a good

welcome, because he has dug over Troy with the pickaxe of Zeus the justice-bringer. Paris and his city have paid the due penalty of their crime (524–37). The leaders of the Achaean expedition and Zeus must both be given the credit for the achievement (580–2). In the next choral song we hear that Helen's marriage to Paris in Troy was made by a divine Wrath that was planning eventually to punish those who celebrated it and sang the wedding-hymn, punish them for the dishonouring of hospitality and of the Zeus who is concerned with [229] sharing hearths. What seemed harmless at first, like a lion-club taken as a pet, finally revealed its horrific nature. The lovely bride welcomed by Priam's enchanted family turned out to be a spirit of Vengeance sent against them by Zeus Xenios (681–749). After this ode Agamemnon appears. In his first words he salutes the gods of Argos who have helped him to exact justice from the city of Priam. The gods presided over the trial, which was a trial of arms, and cast their verdict for the destruction of Troy (810–17).

Thus Aeschylus interprets the myth of the Trojan War, much more consistently and insistently than Homer does, in religious terms, as a demonstration of divine justice. It is not simply that Paris' offence against Zeus is followed, after a long interval, by Zeus' reaction. As soon as he commits the offence the inexorable process is set in motion. Helen's arrival in Troy was the arrival of an avenging spirit in disguise. Her marriage to Paris was contrived by Wrath. The Achaean army set out from Aulis at the instigation of Zeus Xenios. Throughout the ten years of war Zeus' arrow was poised to strike at Paris. There is no consciousness of all this on the part of the epic poet. Moreover, Aeschylus has a developed theory of the psychology of sin which goes well beyond Homer's doctrine of Ate or impairment of good sense by some external force.

Let us turn now to the story of Oedipus and his sons. To this Aeschylus devoted a whole trilogy, produced in the year 467. One of the three plays survives, the *Seven Against Thebes*. Of the other two, *Laios* and *Oidipous*, we have only a few small fragments, but something can be deduced from back-references in the *Seven*. The principal epic sources for the story were the *Oidipodeia* and *Thebais*, both now lost; there are some brief allusions to it in Homer and Hesiod. We have a fragment from a poem of Stesichorus on the quarrel of Oedipus' sons, and there are a few other references in lyric and in the prose logographers.

In the first play of Aeschylus' trilogy, the *Laios*, the central event

was probably the killing of Laios by his unrecognized son Oedipus at the road junction. The play contained a reference to Oedipus' exposure at birth and to the oracle which led Laios to expose his baby son. As reported in the *Seven*, Apollo had told Laios not once but three times that he should die without issue if he wanted the city of Thebes to be secure from danger. But he had given way to thoughtless sentiment and fathered a son, the son who was to kill him. The second play, *Oidipous*, must have dealt with Oedipus' discovery that he had killed his father and married his mother. In distress at the discovery and at the realization of the circumstances in which he had raised his sons, Eteocles and Polynices, he laid a curse on them, that they should divide their inheritance with iron. In the third play, the *Seven*, Polynices with his Argive allies is attacking Thebes, hoping either to kill his brother or to drive him out and take over their father's possessions. In the battle the two brothers fight each other and kill each other. Thebes is saved from destruction, but Laios' family is extinguished.

This is, then, the saga of a family that suffers extraordinary disasters over three generations. Was there a causal connection linking these disasters? I[230] Originally, no. Oedipus' calamity of course presupposes Laios'; they are parts of the same story, seen from different viewpoints. But Oedipus' sons are not necessarily born from his marriage to his mother. In some versions they are born from a subsequent marriage. In the epic *Thebais* Oedipus cursed them because they treated him tactlessly; one of their mistakes was to serve him wine in a gold cup that had belonged to his father, but the other was to send him the wrong cut of meat from their sacrifice. Clearly this story, with the consequent fatal quarrel between the brothers, could exist quite independently of any other story about Oedipus.

In Aeschylus, however, the whole saga is treated as flowing from Laios' original disobedience to the thrice-repeated Apolline oracle. Eteocles in the *Seven*, feeling himself driven on by the curse, speaks of the whole race of Laios as afflicted by the hatred of Apollo (691). When he leaves the stage to go and fight his brother, the women of the chorus, who have tried to dissuade him but failed, sing firstly that they now fear the fulfilment of Oedipus' angry curses by the Erinys, the supernatural agent evoked by those curses. But then they link these afflictions of the house to earlier ones, saying that they go back to an old transgression which brings punishment after it and which has retained its power into the third generation (742–4). They

proceed to recapitulate the story that the audience has seen presented in the trilogy, bringing out its continuity. Laios disobeyed the oracle, overpowered by sentimental thoughtlessness in his desire for a son, and he fathered his own death in the form of Oedipus, who killed him and married his own mother. It was a mad delusion that brought these two together in wedlock; thus the folly of Laios perpetuated itself in the next generation. When Oedipus realized the truth about his marriage, the balance of his mind was disturbed and he uttered the terrible curses against his sons. The chorus ends the ode as it began: 'Now we are afraid that the Erinys, the spirit of the curse, is returning to bring it to fulfilment.' Aeschylus has made the disasters of the family into a chain and unified them, a little artificially, by stressing the factor of mental aberration in each case. (I say 'a little artificially' because the παράνοια which led Oedipus to marry his mother was simply ignorance, and not really comparable to the lapse of judgment shown by Laios in disregarding the oracle and by Oedipus in cursing his sons.) When a Messenger brings news of the deaths of Polynices and Eteocles, he attributes it to Apollo, bringing Laios' old imprudence to its conclusion; and in the ode which follows, the Theban women first cry out about the curse of Oedipus, which has done its work, but then they add (842), 'and Laios' disobedient choice has persisted throughout'.

Aeschylus is not more explicit than this about the nature of the connection linking Laios' misfortune with those of his later family. He suggests that there is a connection because he is writing a connected trilogy, which achieves a better unity through this suggestion, but he cannot give a very satisfactory account of it. Some modern scholars have tried to help him out by introducing the notion of an inherited curse. Thus Hugh Lloyd-Jones in *The Justice of Zeus* starts from the [231] assumption that Laios must have been guilty of some serious offence before being warned by the oracle not to have children. 'All that we know of Aeschylus indicates that he strongly believed that the gods did not punish men without a reason. If in Aeschylus' trilogy Apollo told Laios not to have children, we cannot help wondering what Laios had done to cause Apollo to do this' (120). Lloyd-Jones finds the answer in the story of Chrysippus, a son of Pelops whom Laios fell in love with and abducted. Chrysippus committed suicide, and Pelops cursed Laios, praying that he should be killed by his own offspring. The story came in Euripides' *Chrysippus*. Lloyd-Jones conjectures that it had also been treated in

Aeschylus' *Laios*, and that in this way the Theban trilogy began with 'the initial act of *hybris*, the ἀρχὴ κακῶν' (121). The curse on Laios was then 'inherited' by Oedipus (90, 121), who himself cursed his two sons.

I consider this construction to be untenable, for three reasons. Firstly, in the mythographical sources where the stories about Laios are recorded, the curse of Pelops is not usually combined with the oracle given to Laios. They are basically alternative narrative motifs. If it is a mortal curse that deters Laios from bringing up a son and governs his fate, it is superfluous to bring in an oracle as well. The two are combined only in a Byzantine recension of the Hypothesis to the *Seven*, and there it is fairly clear that different versions are being conflated. Aeschylus in the extant play mentions only the oracle and makes not the slightest allusion to Pelops, Chrysippus, or a curse upon Laios. Secondly, there is evidence that in Aeschylus' *Laios* Oedipus had already been born. Therefore Apollo's warning against begetting a son must have preceded the action of the play, and the curse of Pelops, if mentioned at all, lay even further in the past. So the episode of Chrysippus cannot have been the subject of the play but, at most, something recalled as having happened in the past. Thirdly, Pelops is not said to have cursed Laios and all his descendants: his prayer was that Laios should be killed by his son, and when he was killed by Oedipus, that curse was fulfilled. There is no reason why it should have been 'inherited' by Oedipus.

The only curse in Aeschylus' version was the one Oedipus laid on his sons. But Aeschylus uses the motif of the curse in a most interesting way. In the epic version, we may assume, Oedipus uttered his curses and in due course his sons quarrelled, fought, and killed each other. The epic poet would not have tried to show Polynices and Eteocles being mentally disturbed and unbalanced by the curse. Aeschylus does. When the time comes, the curse operates by damaging the sanity of its victims, so that they become fixated on the course of action that leads to disaster. They know what is happening to them, but still they crave it. In the first half of the *Seven* the curse is carefully kept out of sight. It is only when Eteocles hears that Polynices is attacking the seventh gate, eager to drive him out of Thebes or die in the attempt, that he exclaims (653–5):

> Oh, maddened by the gods, by gods abhorred,
> Oh, lamentable brood of Oedipus!
> Oh, now our father's curses are fulfilled.

[232] Nevertheless, he does not look for a way of avoiding the conflict but is eager to go and fight his brother. There is a dramatic argument with the chorus-women, who try to dissuade him. They tell him not to be carried along by wild, destructive passion; it is an evil craving which he should cast out before it takes hold of him. Eteocles answers in some of the most magnificent and horrific lines in all tragedy (689–91):

> Since God is hastening the business on,
> let Laios' race that Phoibos loathes entire
> sail with the wind and take its course to Hell.

He admits that he is driven on by the sting of a desire that is all too savage, but explains that it is because of his father's angry curse sitting on his dry eyes. The women argue that the Erinys, the agent of the curse, can be induced to leave the house by sacrifices to the gods. But Eteocles is convinced that the gods are interested only in his death, and he is ready to play his part. For the epic poet it was enough that a curse worked. Aeschylus gives us an imaginative poetic view of how it works.

He develops this kind of thinking further in the *Oresteia*. Here there is less of a problem about the causal connections linking the successive chapters of the saga; or perhaps we should say that the problem is more convincingly overcome. In this case a quarrel between two brothers over kingship comes at the beginning of the story instead of the end. Thyestes seduced Atreus' wife. Atreus drove Thyestes out from Argos, and when he returned as a suppliant, Atreus invited him to dinner but served him the meat of his children. Thyestes started to eat before he realized what he was eating, but when he did realize he kicked the table over and prayed that, just as the table crashed on the floor, so the whole race of Pleisthenes should perish. So this time we can legitimately speak of an inherited curse, to which all the subsequent bloodshed in the family can be related. We do not know whether Thyestes' curse was invented by Aeschylus. It may have been, because it is not typical of epic poetry to move across generations or to make connections between events widely separated in time, whereas for the dramatist working on several plays at once it is more tempting to make such links. In the references in the *Odyssey* to the killing of Agamemnon, Aegisthus appears to commit the deed simply because he has become Clytaemestra's lover and wants to keep her. In Aeschylus this is of course still essentially

the situation, but Aegisthus, as Thyestes' surviving son, regards himself as taking revenge for Atreus' crime and helping to fulfil Thyestes' curse (*Ag.* 1223–5, 1582–1611). Clytaemestra justifies her part in the murder primarily by reference to [233] Agamemnon's sacrifice of their daughter Iphigeneia (*Ag.* 1412 ff., 1432 ff., 1523 ff.), but in one passage (1497 ff.) she claims to be regarded as the incarnation of the old avenging spirit concerned with Atreus' savage banquet.

The connection between that event and the murder of Agamemnon is repeatedly suggested. They are linked in Cassandra's visions, and she identifies the house as a house dedicated to slaughter, a house permanently infested by Erinyes who look back to the original wrong done by Thyestes when he seduced Atreus' wife (1186–93). Later the chorus pictures the demon of the family, perching like a bird of carrion on Agamemnon's corpse, and Clytaemestra says yes, it's that thrice-fattened family demon that is to blame for the bloodthirsty lust that keeps old wounds from closing (1468 ff.). Presently, when Clytaemestra points out that Agamemnon had killed Iphigeneia, the chorus admits that it is the law of Zeus that the doer must suffer, and asks despairingly, 'who can rid the house of the self-reproducing curse? The family is glued to perdition' (1562–6). Clytaemestra again agrees with their assessment, and says that for her part she would like to make a treaty with the demon of the Pleisthenids, to drive out the madness of mutual murder from the house. She will be content with a modest amount of wealth, if the demon will only take himself away to plague some other family instead (1567–76).

So we see that the sequence of killings which forms the basic myth has been given a theological dimension by Aeschylus. Thyestes' curse is not treated simply as a prayer to the gods which they will answer at some later time. It is treated as something which remains lodged in the house with a power of its own. Alternatively this abiding power can be considered as an Erinys, or as the Erinyes of those who have been killed, powers demanding vengeance for them. Or again Aeschylus can speak of the demon of the family, that is, the unspecified divine power that controls the family's fortune, and that in the case of this family has become addicted to a diet of blood. The human participants in the drama—at least Clytaemestra and the old men of Argos—are aware of these supernatural forces, and Clytaemestra feels herself to be their agent, just as Eteocles felt himself controlled by his father's curse and strangely impelled to

cooperate with it. The working of the curse, Erinys, or family demon is sanctioned at a higher level by Zeus, because everything that happens must be supposed to be in accordance with his will. The chorus in *Agamemnon* acknowledges that 'the doer must suffer' is a fixed law so long as Zeus remains king in heaven (1563); and earlier, when they spoke of the insatiably bloodthirsty demon of the house, they added: 'O alas, because of Zeus, the causer of all, the doer of all, for what is brought about for mortals without Zeus?' (1485–7).

The story continues in the *Choephoroi* with the killing of Clytaemestra and Aegisthus by Orestes. This event too is laden with theological embellishment, far more than it can have been in previous epic or lyric treatments. The demon of the house is not interested in making a pact with Clytaemestra. Blood that has fallen on its mother Earth soaks in, dries hard, and does not go away. Not all the I^{234} rivers in the land can wash the murderer's hand clean (*Cho.* 48, 66ff.). Clytaemestra has a frightening dream that shows that the spirits of the dead are angry (32–41). Orestes for his part is urged on by an oracle from Apollo, warning him of dreadful physical and mental afflictions that will destroy him if he does not avenge his father. It is not Apollo who will send these afflictions, but the Erinyes, brought to life by Agamemnon's murder (284).

The women of the chorus, in the elaborate lyric dialogue with Orestes and Electra that follows their reunion, reinforce the message that the murder itself sets in motion the machinery for its own avenging, and that everything is calling for the act of vengeance. One death demands another. The doer must suffer. The spirit of the dead man lives on, nursing his wrath (306–31). The bloodshed shouts for an Erinys from the previous victim to bring further injury in addition to what has been committed already (400–4). Agamemnon in his tomb is longing to see what is going to happen.

Not only these powers of earth and darkness but the divine world as a whole is in sympathy with Orestes' enterprise. Justice, who has been trampled to the ground, can be expected to fight with him (642, 497). Destiny is forging his sword (647, cf. 911, 927, 306). Apollo has urged him to proceed. The assistance of Peitho (Persuasion) and Hermes, god of deceit, may be looked for (726, 812); and above all the assistance of Zeus, who can be relied on to punish the sinner sooner or later (382, 306, 395, 775, 783ff.). Thus during the period before Orestes performs his act of vengeance there is a strong awareness of many divine powers calling for him to do it: commanding

him, threatening him, waiting for him, helping him. A cosmic tension, which only he can resolve. And when he does the deed and kills his mother and Aegisthus, the chorus sings that Justice, the true daughter of Zeus, has held his hand in the fight (948).

It was right that Clytaemestra should die; but it is wrong for a man to kill his own mother. That seems to be the implication of what follows in the next chapter of the story, the persecution of Orestes by Clytaemestra's Erinyes. When he was about to kill her, he hesitated for a moment, reminded by her that she had nursed him, but his friend Pylades dismissed his doubts (*Cho.* 899–902). He had not up to then regarded it as a problem, and neither had Electra or the chorus, all of them overlooking the importance of this consideration. Clytaemestra herself warned Orestes to beware of her Erinyes; he replied simply that he was already threatened by his father's Erinyes (924 ff.). She had committed an unnatural murder, so now she must suffer one (930). But this argument was not good enough to save Orestes from her Erinyes, who appear to him before the end of *Choephoroi* and send him hurrying away to seek purification at Delphi. The chorus cannot see them and take them to be a delusion affecting Orestes because |[235] his mind is disturbed. But they now realize that his deed has not after all brought the story to a happy ending. In the closing lines of the play they remind us of the chain of killings: Thyestes' feast, Agamemnon's fatal bath, and now a questionable deliverance from evil. They end with a question, where will it end? When will the raging fury of perdition be laid to rest?

The pursuit of Orestes by the Erinyes was not Aeschylus' invention. It appeared in Stesichorus, according to whom Apollo gave Orestes a bow with which to defend himself against his pursuers (*PMGF* 217). In that version, presumably, Apollo was wholly responsible for purifying Orestes and bringing the matter to an end. Aeschylus keeps Apollo as Orestes' protector and advocate but gives Athena the role of freeing him from guilt and placating the Erinyes. By a bold creative combination he develops the story to account for the foundation of the Athenian court of the Areopagus and the Athenian cult of the Eumenides or Σεμναὶ θεαί. There is much that could be said about this, but it would take us too far; it is a religious creation rather than interpretation of myth.

One last point about Orestes. In the epic tradition he is a praiseworthy young hero who triumphs. In Aeschylus his position is more ambivalent, but in the end he is exonerated and left free to live

happily in his father's house and kingdom. Thus he escapes the curse which Thyestes laid on the whole family. We cannot conceive that there was ever a version of the story in which he was struck down by it. I take this as a further reason for thinking that the curse was not an original, organic feature of the myth but a secondary motif introduced in order to make a connection between those violent deaths which did occur in the story of the family.

I turn now to the Danaid trilogy, the trilogy of which the surviving *Suppliants* was the first play. The essential myth was that the fifty sons of Aigyptos married their cousins, the fifty daughters of Danaos, against the girls' wishes. On the wedding night each of the brides murdered her new husband, with the single exception of Hypermestra, who found hers tolerable. He was called Lynceus, and from him and her a line of Argive kings was to descend.

The events of this trilogy do not extend over generations or years but only over days. In this case it is not a matter of separate happenings at different times linked together by the theme of retribution or family curse. The story of the Danaids is one story, spread over three plays. In the first play they arrive at Argos from Egypt to escape from the sons of Aegyptus. They succeed in persuading the local king, Pelasgus, to allow them to settle there and to protect them from their cousins. An Egyptian herald who tries to take them away is forced to leave empty-handed. Religious considerations play a prominent part in the drama. Reference is made above all to Zeus, in two main roles: firstly as the divine ancestor of the Danaids, through Epaphus, who was born to Io after she wandered from Argos to Egypt—the Danaids trust that Zeus will be especially receptive to their prayers because of this—and secondly as the god of all suppliants. The Danaids' faith in Zeus is a conspicuous feature of their character, and the odes they sing include some of the most famous praises of the god's [236] power and wisdom in all Greek literature. They regard their cousins' behaviour as wicked and impious, and they wish for them to perish at sea before they can reach Argos. When Pelasgus hesitates to guarantee their protection, because he can see that it is likely to involve his people in a war, it is by warning him of the anger of Zeus protector of suppliants that they persuade him, and once persuaded, he proves a firm ally. The representation of the religious procedure of supplication, located at the altars of the gods and accompanied by the ritual holding of suppliant branches, with the appeals to Suppliant Zeus, provides the play with one of its two

major dramatic elements. In the older tradition, represented chiefly by the lost epic *Danais*, the story cannot have had so prominent a religious dimension. Only drama was equipped to give the religious aspect such vivid treatment.

If we take this play on its own we get the impression that Zeus has justified the Danaids' faith in him and given them security against the forced marriages they fear. But in the next play in the trilogy, *Aigyptioi*, it appears that the sons of Aegyptus defeated the Argives in battle, probably killing Pelasgus, and the Danaids were compelled to marry them after all. Aeschylus does make some preparation for this turn of events at the end of the *Suppliants*. The Danaids pray for the favour of Artemis, the goddess of virginity, and for freedom from compulsion to the rites of Aphrodite. At this, however, a secondary chorus of Argives comments that Aphrodite is an important goddess, next only to Zeus and Hera, and that she should not be ignored. It is not such an unusual thing for women to be married against their will. The fact that the Egyptians have crossed the sea safely and swiftly may be an indication of Zeus' intentions, which cannot be thwarted. The Danaids continue to pray that Zeus will prevent the marriages; but they concede that they cannot see into his mind, which is a bottomless vista.

In the end they escape marriage in an unforeseen way: by murder. Was this then Zeus' will? In some sense it must have been; but it cannot have been treated as free from guilt. The third play of the trilogy must have concerned itself with this question, as well as with the evaluation of Hypermestra, the one who spared her husband. But we do not know how. We only know that Aphrodite appeared in the play and spoke of her responsibility for the cosmic power of sexual love. So it is at least clear that the human drama was given a theological dimension.

With Aeschylus' earliest surviving play, the *Persians*, which takes its story not from myth but from recent history in which the poet himself and most of his audience played a part, we can see how readily the tragedian puts a religious interpretation on his subject matter. We must remember that the same subject had already been treated by Phrynichus, and also that popular opinion itself may have tended to put a religious construction on the Persians' unexpected defeat. Aeschylus represents the Persians themselves as subscribing to Greek theology and recognizing Zeus as the highest power in the world. In the first choral ode the Councillors, anxious about the fate of the

grand army, reflect that no man can escape being deceived by God. Ate, Perdition, presenting a friendly face, entices them into her net, and there they are trapped. The implication is that this is what I[237] may have happened to Xerxes. The Queen arrives and reports a frightening dream and omen that she has seen—possible portents of disaster. When a Messenger comes and confirms that the disaster has taken place, he takes it for granted that it is the gods' doing (283, 294, 345–7, 373, 454, 495, 514), and the chorus attributes it explicitly and unhesitatingly to Zeus (532).

The wise former king Darius, aroused from the world of the dead by invocations and offerings, also assumes Zeus as the agent of the calamity (740), but now there is a more insistent emphasis on the folly of Xerxes as an associated cause. Xerxes' bridging of the Hellespont is interpreted as an arrogant assault upon a divine stream, as if he thought no gods could stop him; evidently some demonic power had damaged his sanity (745–51, 723–5). This folly brought down the disaster from Zeus that had been foretold by oracles for an unspecified future, for when a man himself shows enthusiasm for a disastrous course of action, God cooperates (742).

But Aeschylus is also prepared to spread the blame more widely. Darius foretells a further catastrophe, the battle of Plataea. The Persians' sufferings there will be the punishment for their hybris and impiety in destroying and burning Greek temples and altars and statues of the gods. The piles of corpses will teach posterity the lesson that mortals must not think too big but be contented with their existing fortunes. Hybris leads to ruin. Zeus is a severe judge and punisher of excessive arrogance (807–28).

Of course, in giving these explanations for the Persians' failure, Aeschylus does not wish to obscure or diminish the fine achievement of the Greek forces. He has plenty to say of their courage, tactical cunning, and ferocity in battle. Their relationship to the gods also comes into question: Athens is the city of a goddess, and the gods preserve it (347). But in the end it is the presumptuous folly of Xerxes that takes the main emphasis.

I have said nothing about *Prometheus*: like many scholars nowadays I am convinced that it is not the work of Aeschylus. In any case, although it is all about gods, the author has not invested the myth with any religious meaning or message. He presents it simply in terms of a rather cynical power struggle. The play does not seem to fit in with Aeschylus' religious ideology in any significant way.

What is this ideology? Can we construct a coherent system from what we find in the surviving plays?

A 'system' may be too much to expect from a poet and dramatist who must start from whatever story he has chosen as the basis for a play and try to make sense of it in religious terms. Different sorts of story call for different sorts of analysis. But we can identify certain consistent elements in Aeschylus' thinking. He believes that things do not happen at random. When a train of events is set in motion by men, its outcome is determined by Zeus. It cannot be foreseen with any assurance, because Zeus' mind is vast and subtle, but in retrospect it becomes clear that Zeus has acted wisely and in accordance with fixed principles. |[238] Unrighteousness, injustice, impiety are sure to be punished sooner or later, perhaps in a future generation, no one knows just when or how. Others of the Olympian gods, for example Athena, Apollo, Hermes, Aphrodite, have their own particular functions and privileges, but they work in harmony with Zeus and at a far lower level.

More distinctive of Aeschylus' universe, in opposition to that of Homer, is the scope allowed to what we may call demonic powers and forces: curses, avenging agents, wraths, and (in a somewhat different category) the individual *daimon* of a family. They almost seem to constitute an alternative system to the Olympian regime of Zeus. Aeschylus tends to speak of them as if they operated quite independently of the upper gods, responding automatically to sinful actions and deeds of violence, altering the balance of a person's mind or even taking on his identity, as when Helen is seen as an Erinys (*Ag.* 749), or Clytaemestra as a Wrath (*Ag.* 155) or Alastor (*Ag.* 1501). The great gulf separating these virulent earthly forces from the upper gods is made explicit in the *Eumenides*, where the Erinyes are represented as utterly different from the gods in appearance and manners, banished by Zeus from their company (347–53, 360–7), abhorred by Apollo (179 ff.), unrecognizable to Athena (406 ff.). They boast of all the horrible things they do to their victims, jumping on them from a great height, feasting on them, sucking up their blood, driving them insane, shrivelling them up, binding them fast, hounding them to hell.

And yet it was the gods who gave the Erinyes this function (392). They do not persecute the innocent, only the wrongdoer. They are stern guardians of what is right. So in the end there is no contradiction between their values and those of Zeus. That is why Athena can

accept them as permanent settlers in her city and nationalize them so that they can supervise the life of the citizens—an arrangement sanctioned by all-seeing Zeus (1045).

Aeschylus' theology is a curious mixture of light and dark, but a harmonious and impressive mixture. The superhuman wisdom of Zeus, the unbending laws of justice, the savage tenacity of curses and avenging spirits, the baleful power of unseen Wraths, family demons who become addicted to drinking blood, all somehow combine in his world picture and give a new depth of meaning to the myths he uses. At the middle of the picture stands man, his precious sanity vulnerable to the assaults of external powers and the temptations of sin. Once he yields, inexorable forces plunge him into calamity.

14

Zeus in Aeschylus

I was Hugh Lloyd-Jones's first graduate student, and his only one before his appointment to the Regius Chair of Greek in Oxford. Let me tell you how this came about.

Before his appointment to the chair he held the E. P. Warren Praelectorship at Corpus Christi College in Oxford. This was a position that had peculiar restrictions imposed on it by the man who endowed it. The incumbent was not permitted to teach any women, and if he did not live within the college itself he was supposed to live in premises connected to the college by a tunnel. This last prescription was not observed; no such premises existed. But Hugh's university lecturing, from which women could not be banned, had to be conducted in the name of a colleague with whom he shared the billing, or else in the privacy of his own home. He was living at that time in Magpie Lane, which, for those of you who half know Oxford, is a narrow lane running south from the High Street. In the Middle Ages it was noted as a haunt of prostitutes, and its name was not Magpie Lane but something much ruder. (Beginning with G.) By Hugh's time it was thoroughly respectable. In the summer term of 1956 he advertised a weekly class on the *Agamemnon*, to be held in his house, and I attended it. We met in an upstairs room overlooking the lane; there were only about six students. In writing home to my parents after the first session I reported that it was a most entertaining event. Mr Lloyd-Jones wore red slippers and waved his arms about like a windmill. I was climbed over by a large Persian cat. I remember two incidents from that class. One day Hugh needed to look up a reference in Polybius. He went to fetch the volume, only to discover that the pages were uncut. We were all amused to

Lecture in memory of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones, delivered at Harvard on 16 November 2010.

see him caught out in this way, and he saw the joke and joined in the merriment. On another occasion it was a warm afternoon and the window was open. A large stone came flying in and landed on the carpet. Hugh wondered aloud whether it was the work of the Bullingdon Club, a university society notorious for upper-class hooliganism. On going to the window he found that the missile had in fact been thrown by his wife, who wanted to attract his attention. He shouted down cheerfully, 'You've killed one of my pupils!'

A couple of years later I was discussing my plans for graduate work with my tutor for literature, the late Gordon Williams. As an object of study I had fixed on Hesiod, at that time a rather neglected figure. Gordon Williams asked who I thought might supervise me. I suggested Mr Lloyd-Jones, not because he had any known expertise on Hesiod but because he had impressed me at the *Agamemnon* class as a man with a livelier approach to scholarship and a more obviously active intelligence than most of the other Oxford Hellenists of the time. And so it was arranged that he would be my supervisor.

It proved a very satisfactory relationship. Graduate studies in Oxford were still quite undeveloped. There were no codes of practice laying down what was expected of supervisors or supervisees. It was left to them to play it as they wanted to. I got on with my work, and from time to time sent Hugh some pages I had written that I wanted him to see. He would make enthusiastic noises and talk flamboyantly about whatever scholarly issue or gossip was on his mind at the time. On one of my first visits to his house as a graduate I found that he had been left in charge of his infant daughter Antonia, who was in a playpen. It was a singular spectacle: my supervisor kneeling on the floor, scowling in concentration over a German work of scholarship as with his free hand he worked the plunger of a brightly-coloured humming-top. On leaving his house on another occasion I forgot to pick up my umbrella. I had got about fifty yards up Magpie Lane when I heard a wheezing sound behind me and a faint voice calling 'Martin!' There was Hugh, jogging after me with my umbrella, quite out of breath, exclaiming 'I haven't run since 1938!'

In the same year as the *Agamemnon* class, 1956, Hugh published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* his famous article 'Zeus in Aeschylus'. It was his first major paper, and it established his reputation as a scholar with important things to say about tragedy. He later had some misgivings about it: he reprinted it in the first volume of his

Academic Papers in 1990,[1] but appended a note saying that he did so with reluctance. 'I still agree with a good deal of its contents,' he wrote, 'but I have grown to dislike its tone, and I am not pleased when people who are apparently unacquainted with my later writings on related topics quote it as though it represented my most recent views.' As this shows, the subject matter of the paper remained among Hugh's enduring concerns, and I thought it would be a fitting subject for a lecture in his memory, even if I don't take a particularly Lloyd-Jonesish approach to it.

In the opening paragraph of his article it is immediately apparent that for him a major part of the problem of Zeus in Aeschylus was in fact Zeus in the *Prometheus*, and how to reconcile that Zeus with the Zeus of the other plays. At that time the *Prometheus* was generally accepted as an authentic play of Aeschylus. Hugh notes that a few scholars had disputed it and thereby found an answer to the Zeus dilemma. They had disputed it not just from this motive but on grounds of abnormalities of style, language, and metre, which Hugh allowed 'certainly lent some colour' to their view and were 'by no means lightly to be brushed aside' (56/240, 57/243). But, he thought, these abnormalities would not have led Wilhelm Schmid to so extreme a step as denying authenticity 'had not the content of the play conflicted with his whole conception of Aeschylus'. In Hugh's view, at any rate, if the divergent pictures of Zeus could be reconciled (and he thought they could), there would be no sufficient reason to question the genuineness of the *Prometheus*.

As you may be aware, from the late 1970s on there was a major shift in scholarly opinion on the question, mainly brought about by Mark Griffith's powerful study, *The Authenticity of Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge 1977). On reading that book I was at once persuaded that the play could not be genuine, and the more I studied Aeschylus, the more convinced I became that the *Prometheus* was the work of a younger and lesser playwright, probably Aeschylus' son Euphorion. Senior scholars such as Denys Page and R. P. Winnington-Ingram came down against authenticity. Today, while there are still plenty who cling to Aeschylean authorship of the play, they have gone on the defensive. Hugh never went over to the sceptics, but he trimmed his sails to the wind. In *Harvard Studies* for

[1] *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (Oxford 1990), 238–61.

2003, for example, he wrote that though he thought it likelier that Aeschylus was the author, he did not regard it as certain.[2]

Apart from accounting for the distinctly unfavourable picture of Zeus given in the *Prometheus*, Hugh's other main objective in the 1956 article was to counter what he saw as the exaggeratedly sublime, almost monotheistic, quasi-Christian conception of Aeschylus' Zeus that some scholars had upheld. He argued that all the features of the Aeschylean Zeus were already present in Homer, or if not in Homer, then in Hesiod and Solon. He wrote (64/255 f.):

> An examination of the surviving plays apart from the *Prometheus* seems to lead to what many people will find the startling conclusion that Aeschylus' conception of Zeus contains nothing that is new, nothing that is sophisticated, and nothing that is profound.

A conclusion startling indeed, and not altogether easy to swallow. There is surely *something* distinctive about Aeschylus' Zeus. Those hymn-like or psalm-like lyrics about him in the *Supplices* and *Agamemnon*, and the fragment from the *Heliades* (F 70) where somebody declares that Zeus is the air, the earth, the sky, the universe, and whatever is beyond the universe, have no parallel in earlier Greek poetry. Do you remember the Homeric Hymn to Zeus (no. 23)? No, you don't, why would anyone, it is a paltry thing of four lines, not one of them memorable:

> Of Zeus, best and greatest of the gods, I will sing,
> the wide-sounding ruler, the one that brings to fulfilment,
> who consults closely with Themis as she sits leaning against him.
> Be favourable, wide-sounding son of Kronos, greatest and most glorious.

Hesiod in the *Theogony* (47–9) describes how the Muses on Olympus sing of Zeus, father of gods and men, how far the highest of the gods he is, and the greatest in power. In the opening lines of the *Works and Days* he includes a little hymn of his own (5–8):

> Easily he makes strong, and easily he oppresses the strong,
> easily he diminishes the conspicuous one and magnifies the inconspicuous,
> and easily he makes the crooked straight and withers the proud,
> Zeus who thunders on high, who dwells in the highest mansions.

This is moderately impressive, but when we turn to Aeschylus:

[2] 'Zeus, Prometheus, and Greek Ethics', *HSCP* 101 (2003), 49–72 = *The Further Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford 2005), 181–202, at 55/186.

ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων
μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων
τελειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ,

Lord of lords, most blessed of the blessed
and most powerful of powers, felicitous Zeus . . . (*Supp.* 524–6),

δι' αἰῶνος κρέων ἀπαύτου,

reigning world without end . . . (*Supp.* 574)

οὔτινος ἄνωθεν ἡμένου σέβει κράτη,
πάρεστι δ' ἔργον ὡς ἔπος
σπεῦσαι. τί τῶνδ' οὐ Διὸς φέρει φρήν;

He pays homage to no one sitting above him;
he is able to speed his deed as soon as his word.
What of these things is not brought forth by the mind of Zeus? (*Supp.* 595–9)

Ζεύς, ὅστίς ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὐτῶι φίλον κεκλημένωι,

Zeus, whoever he is, if this name is to his liking . . . (*Ag.* 160–1)

τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώσαντα, τὸν πάθει μάθος
θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν,

Zeus who set mortals on the path of wisdom,
who made the law of learning by suffering . . . (*Ag.* 176–8)

ἰὼ ἰή, διαὶ Διός
παναιτίου πανεργέτα·
τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται;

oh, oh, because of Zeus,
causer of all and doer of all:
for what comes to pass for mortals without Zeus? (*Ag.* 1485–7)

—when, I say, we turn to passages such as these, we are in a different religious dimension from the archaic poets. As Nilsson says, it is a religious conception rooted in traditional theology, but Aeschylus has given it a new power and depth and dignity. Nilsson sees the source of this enhancement in Aeschylus' own personality.[3] But there is, I think, more to it than that.

[3] M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 3rd ed., i (Munich 1967), 750, 'All dies hat den Anschein erwecken können, daß Aischylos ein religiöser Neuerer war, der eine neue Form der Religion predigte, er steht jedoch noch ganz auf dem Boden der alten Religion, obgleich er diese mit einem wuchtigen Ernst ohnegleichen auffaßt, der ihr eine strenge Würde verleiht, wie sie seiner Persönlichkeit entspringt.'

The passages I quoted are from the *Supplices* and the *Agamemnon*. We do not find anything similar in the earlier surviving plays, the *Persai* and the *Seven against Thebes*. This more exalted homage to Zeus appears to have been a new development in Aeschylus' later years. And while it may in part reflect his own spiritual development, external influences may also in part be responsible. In the new terms in which Zeus is celebrated in the later plays we can recognize some elements of oriental provenance that had not previously appeared in Greek hymns and prayers, and some links with certain utterances of Presocratics.

But let us look first at the way Zeus is presented in the earlier plays. In the *Persai* we have a story taken not from the world of myth but from recent history in which Aeschylus himself and most of those watching the play had played a part. This does not inhibit him from putting a religious construction on the Persians' unexpected defeat. In portraying Persians in a Persian setting he introduces some touches of barbarian culture: eastern dress, allusions to fine fabrics and general luxury, strings of Persian or Persian-sounding names, prostration before royalty, and exotic cries of woe such as ὀâ. But he has not read Herodotus on Persian religion and does not attempt to provide the Persians with their own gods. For the temporary release of Darius from the underworld they pray to Ge, Hermes, and Aïdoneus (628 f., 650); Darius' ghost refers to Poseidon as lord of the sea (750); Athens is acknowledged as Athena's city (347). The god they recognize as having the highest power in the world is Zeus. But Zeus appears in conventional colours, as supreme ruler and stern moralist and little more. He is not mentioned at all till almost halfway through the play. Then, after hearing the Messenger's report of the disaster, they address Zeus the sovereign, ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ (532), as the one who has brought this to pass. Darius refers to Zeus in the same way (740), as having visited upon Xerxes the fulfilment of the old prophecy. Later (827) he admonishes that 'Zeus is there to punish excessive arrogance, a severe censor'. And when Xerxes comes in, he exclaims 'how I wish, Zeus, that death had swallowed me with the ones who have gone' (915). That is all. There is none of the brooding meditation on Zeus' nature, his purposes, his unfathomable wisdom and his incomparable greatness, that we find in the late plays.

It is the same in the *Seven against Thebes*. The women of the chorus pray to Zeus to avert the city's capture, addressing him as Ζεῦ πάτερ, παντὸς ἔχων τέλος, 'father Zeus that controllest the

outcome of everything' (116), predications already found in Archilochus (177, 197, 298). Despite crediting Zeus with controlling all outcomes, the women proceed to invoke a series of other gods too: Athena, Poseidon, Ares, Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis, Hera. It is the traditional company of gods, each with his or her own volition and power of action. They address Zeus again as παγκρατής in 255, yet a little later Eteocles will declare that it is Ares who will decide the fight (414, cf. 469, 945). Dike is called the virgin daughter of Zeus (662), but so she had been in Hesiod (*Op.* 256). This was the third play of its trilogy, bringing to a conclusion the doom-laden saga of Laios, Oedipus, and Oedipus' sons. At the end, in the 170 lyric verses that make up the exodos (the following iambic scene with the herald and Antigone is of course a spurious addition), we might expect some reflections on the divine purpose underlying these tragic events. But the chorus sing only of Laios' folly, of Oedipus' dreadful curse and his Erinys, of Ares, of Ate, of Moira:

> ἰὼ
> Μοῖρα βαρυδότειρα μογερὰ πότνιά τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά,
> μέλαιν' Ἐρινύς, ἦ μεγασθενής τις εἶ. (975–6=987–8).

They have nothing to say of Zeus.

If we had only the *Persai* and the *Seven against Thebes*, 'Zeus in Aeschylus' would not be a subject. In these earlier plays, dating from 472 and 467 respectively, the references to Zeus are entirely conventional and unremarkable. This difference between the earlier and the later plays in their treatment of Zeus is to my mind very striking, but it is not generally noticed in the scholarly literature. The reason is, I think, that much of the earlier discussion of Zeus' special status in Aeschylus took place at a time when almost all scholars firmly believed the *Supplices* to be the earliest surviving tragedy, an opinion going back to Schlegel and Hermann; so the new, more awesome Zeus appeared to be in Aeschylus from the beginning. Thus Wilamowitz writes in *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (i. 133=^{2}131) that Aeschylus 'professes his faith in the one omnipotent and just Lord and director of world history already before the deliverance from the Persian danger, in the *Supplices*'.[4] It was only in 1952, with Lobel's publication

[4] 'Den Glauben an den einen allmächtigen und gerechten Herrn und Lenker der Weltgeschichte bekennt er schon vor der Erlösung aus der Persergefahr in den Hiketiden.'

of a papyrus fragment of a *didaskalia* recording that Aeschylus was victorious with the Danaid trilogy in a year when Sophocles was also competing, that it became clear that the *Supplices* had to be down-dated to the 460s, and that it was later than the Theban trilogy. It was then realized that this dating (which incidentally had been anticipated by Theodor Bergk in the 1870s) made a lot of sense, as the *Supplices* seemed in some ways closer than the other plays to the *Oresteia*. The grander Zeus that we meet in the *Supplices* fits in with this. It really does seem as if Aeschylus developed a much deeper religious engagement with the idea of Zeus in the few years that separate the Theban and Danaid trilogies.

It is true that Zeus has more direct connections with the story of the Danaids than with that of the house of Oedipus. For one thing he is their divine ancestor, through Epaphos, whom Io bore after her wanderings brought her from Argos to Egypt. When the Danaids pray to him, they trust that he will be especially receptive to their prayers because of this. And secondly they have come to Argos as suppliants, fleeing from their cousins the sons of Aigyptos, and Zeus is the god of all suppliants. The Danaids have a fervent faith in him, and this underlies the songs they sing to him as they hymn his power and wisdom in eloquent and original terms. Ζεύς is the very first word of the play: 'may Zeus Aphiktor, god of Arriving, look favourably upon our expedition'.

Within a hundred lines comes the remarkable strophe (86–7+93–5)

> εὖ θείη Διός, εἰ παναλα-
> θὼς Διός, ἵμερος. οὐκ εὐθήρατος ἐτύχθη·
> δαῦλοι γὰρ πραπίδων
> δάσκιοί τε τείνουσιν πόροι, κατιδεῖν ἄφραστοι.
>
> May Zeus' desire, if it is truly Zeus', set things aright.
> It is not easily tracked, for the ways of his mind
> lead through bush and thick shadow,
> they cannot be pointed out to the view.

The idea is that Zeus' intentions are often hidden from mankind until the outcome reveals what they were. This is not in itself a new idea: we can find it in Homer. What is new is the imagery of Zeus' profound and subtle mind, seen as something huge and impenetrable. There is a similar image near the end of the play (1056–8), where the secondary chorus of Argives say to the Danaids, 'you do not know the future', and they reply, 'how can I be expected to descry

the mind of Zeus, a bottomless vista?' *τί δὲ μέλλω φρένα Δίαν καθορᾶν, ὄψιν ἄβυσσον*; To find anything similar in earlier poetry we must look not to Greece but to the East. A Sumerian poet of a hymn to Enlil, the father of the gods, wrote a millennium and a half before Aeschylus:

> Enlil, your ingenuity takes one's breath away!
> By its nature it is like entangled threads which cannot be unravelled,
> crossed threads which the eye cannot follow . . .
> Who can comprehend your actions?[5]

In Babylonian and Assyrian poems God is said to have a heart 'unfathomable as inmost heaven'. Marduk is praised in the Creation Epic *Enūma eliš* as having an extensive wisdom and a heart so deep (literally 'remote') that none of the other gods can grasp it. Similarly in the Hebrew Psalms (92: 6(5)):

> How great are thy works, Yahweh:
> very deep are thy thoughts/designs.

And in Isaiah (40: 28):

> He does not tire and he does not grow weary:
> there is no searching out his cleverness.

A few lines further on, the Danaids sing that Zeus casts mortals down in ruin from their towering hopes, without mobilizing any physical force against them: 'everything of the divine is effortless', *πᾶν ἄπονον δαιμονίων* (100). The same motif appears in the *Eumenides* (650 f.), where Athena says that Zeus cannot raise the dead, but everything else he can turn upside down without getting out of breath, *οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων*. The idea that gods can do things 'easily' (*ῥεῖα*) is commonplace in Homer and Hesiod, but these formulations, with their emphasis on effortlessness, and in the *Supplices* passage on Zeus' working his will without moving from where he sits, recall the verses of Xenophanes (DK 21 B 25–6) about his one God, greatest among gods and men, who remains in one place and never moves from it and without physical effort, *ἀπάνευθε πόνοιο*, shakes everything by the force of his mind. Aeschylus is not just rewording traditional poetic theology; he has received impulses from fifth-century intellectual currents.

[5] *Enlil in the E-kur* 131–6 (Jeremy Black *et al.*, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer* (Oxford 2004), 324).

I pass on to the famous passage I mentioned earlier, *Supp.* 524–6:

> Lord of lords, most blessed of the blessed
> and most powerful of powers, felicitous Zeus.

This is language unprecedented and indeed almost unparalleled in Greek. It is a clear imitation of divine titles current in the Near East, where not only were deities addressed with individual expressions such as 'lord of lords', 'king of kings', 'god of gods', but it was common to have two or three such phrases juxtaposed, as they are in Aeschylus. For example, an Akkadian–Hittite bilingual has the combination 'mistress of mistresses, goddess of goddesses'. Enlil is addressed in Assyrian prayers as 'lord of lords, king of kings'. On a stele of Nabonidus at Harran, Sîn is called 'Enlil of the gods, king of kings, lord of lords'. Similarly in Deuteronomy (10: 17): 'For Yahweh your god is the god of gods and lord of lords'. There are also Egyptian parallels.[6] By the way, according to Semitic idiom 'king of kings' or 'god of gods' does not mean a king who rules over kings or a god whom other gods worship, but the most kingly of kings, the most divine among deities. Aeschylus' ἄναξ ἀνάκτων is evidently meant in the same way, as it is coupled with the superlative phrases μακάρων μακάρτατε and τελέων τελειότατον κράτος.

Later in the same choral ode (*Supp.* 574) comes a statement about Zeus of which the main clause has fallen out of the manuscript, but there remains the participial phrase 'ruling through aeon unceasing', or as I rendered it earlier, 'reigning world without end': δι' αἰῶνος κρέων ἀπαύτου. In Homer of course the gods are immortal, ἀθάνατοι, existing for ever, αἰὲν ἐόντες. What is new in Aeschylus is the emphasis on the permanence of Zeus' rule and the immensity of time through which it will last. Here again we seem to have something brought in on the East wind. In the tenth Psalm (16) we can read that 'Yahweh is king for ever and aye' (*melek ʿôlām wāʿed*), and in the Lamentations of Jeremiah (5: 19) that 'Thou, O Yahweh, dost sit for eternity: thy throne is for ever and ever'. Already in the Bronze Age, at Ugarit, we have 'king for ever' as a divine title.

Let us move on to the *Agamemnon*: back to that wonderful, diffident invocation in the parodos (160–2):

[6] See references in *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 557 n. 26.

Ζεύς, ὅστίς ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὐτῶι φίλον κεκλημένωι,
τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω.

Zeus, whoever he is, if this name is to his liking,
so I address him.

It is a very arresting suggestion, that the ruler of the universe might prefer some other name to 'Zeus'. One or two commentators—and surprisingly it is only one or two; they do not include Fraenkel[7]—have compared the fragment of Heraclitus (DK 22 B 32) in which he said that 'the Wise is one thing only: it does and does not care to be called by the name of Zeus', *ἓν τὸ σοφὸν μοῦνον· λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει καὶ ἐθέλει Ζηνὸς ὄνομα*. Heraclitus had an original conception of an intelligent divine principle that governs the world. It occupies the place of the conventional Zeus, it has some of Zeus' traditional characteristics, but it has others that Zeus does not have: that is what he means by saying that it does and does not care to be called by the name of Zeus. The name is only partly appropriate. It is surely something like this that is in Aeschylus' mind. Fraenkel and most commentators refer only to the well-known type of liturgical formula in which one invokes a deity by his or her name, or several names, and then adds 'or however you wish to be addressed'. Lloyd-Jones in his 1956 article is content with this and sees nothing new in the passage. In *The Justice of Zeus* (85) he adds:

In this context the use of this invocation has the further effect of laying stress upon the inscrutability of the all-powerful divinity whose aid is being implored, and thus striking a note of appropriate humility. Nothing compels us to suppose that we are intended to recall the famous words in which, perhaps echoing formulas of this kind, Heraclitus doubts whether Zeus is or is not an appropriate name for the one god of his own system.[8]

In the Epilogue to the second edition (172) he returned to the point, saying:

When Heraclitus says that the one wise is unwilling and willing to be called by the name of Zeus, he is indeed saying something new, but at the same

[7] The two I have found are van Heusde (1864) and Thomson (1938).

[8] In a note to his translation, however, he wrote 'the formula as it is used here recalls the saying of the fifth-century philosopher Heraclitus: "One thing, the only truly wise, does and does not consent to be called by the name of Zeus"' (*Aeschylus: Oresteia* (London 1979), 25).

time he is saying something deeply rooted in the thinking of the past. It was the latter fact which needed stressing, and the intelligent reader will not complain that I ignored the former, which has been stressed enough in recent times.

The point that is being missed here is that in the traditional usage you are addressing a specified deity who has a range of known names or titles, and inviting him or her to answer to whichever one best hits the mark in the circumstances. You are not suggesting that Zeus might really be something other than Zeus or Apollo something other than Apollo. In Aeschylus the Argive elders in their uncertainty are putting a question-mark over Zeus' traditional identity. Is the mysterious sovereign power that rules the universe really the Zeus of Greek poetry and cult, or something different, something larger? The Heraclitus parallel is truly relevant. I do not know whether Aeschylus had read Heraclitus; I certainly do not fancy that he intends us to *recall* a particular sentence of Heraclitus. What I am affirming is that he is saying something untraditional—can you imagine a Homeric character saying 'Zeus, whoever he is'?—and that it is not an innovation that comes wholly out of his own brain but one related to some of the philosophical thinking of the time.

In the following lines (*Ag.* 163–7) the elders continue:

> I cannot find a likeness (for him), as I try everything in the scales,
> save Zeus himself, if the vain burden of anxiety
> is truly to be shed.

Agamemnon has been away for ten years; his old subjects do not know whether or when he will return. Meanwhile his wife rules the land in adulterous liaison with his cousin Aegisthus. It is a troubling situation. Why is Zeus (or whatever his name is) a reassurance? As the next verses explain, Zeus has a track record of victory and may be expected to prevail (168–75); and he is the one who has set men on the path to wisdom by establishing the law of *πάθει μάθος*, learning through suffering, that is, understanding that you did the wrong thing when you suffer the consequences. The principle recurs elsewhere in the *Oresteia* in the form *παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα* or *δράσαντι παθεῖν*, the one who did the deed must suffer. It is an old Greek notion of justice, expressed in the verse attributed to Hesiod (fr. 286. 2), 'if one were to suffer (=have done to him) what he did, justice would be done', *εἴ κε πάθοι τά τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο*. But Aeschylus makes it part of Zeus' ordinance. The elders can hope that

this law will prevail in the house of Agamemnon because it is Zeus' law, and Zeus regularly prevails.

After they have heard the news that Troy has fallen, they turn to Zeus again (355 ff.). It is Zeus, they have no doubt, who has brought this about, Zeus as Xenios, who, ever since Paris violated the sanctity of *ξενία* by stealing Menelaus' wife, has had his arrow aimed at him, waiting for the right moment to shoot. The Trojans can tell themselves it is Zeus' blow—that much one can work out: he did as he determined.

> *Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν·*
> *πάρεστιν τοῦτό γ' ἐξιχνεῦσαι·*
> *ἔπραξεν ὡς ἔκρανεν.* (367–9)

The play goes forward. Things seem to be coming right. Agamemnon comes home in triumph. But when Clytaemestra induces him to go into the house treading on costly purple fabrics, and then prays to Zeus that he fulfil her own prayers (973–4), foreboding returns. Cassandra's visions bring the elders first the frightful memory of Thyestes' bloody banquet, and then the insight that Agamemnon is about to be murdered. When she goes indoors to share his fate, they reflect that all human fortune is vulnerable to reversal. The gods have granted Agamemnon the taking of Priam's city, and he has come home honoured by heaven, but now perhaps he is to die in requital for past bloodshed. They do not explore the justice aspect of this or how it may fit into Zeus' thinking. There is no time for that, as Agamemnon's death cries are about to break in on them. In any case it would be premature to muse about those issues before the deed is even done. It will be for Clytaemestra to protest that she has justice on her side. The elders eventually come round to blaming the family demon of the Tantalids; they picture it perching on Agamemnon's corpse like a bird of carrion. Clytaemestra agrees that they have got it right: it is the thrice-fattened demon of the clan that feeds the recurrent blood-lust which keeps old wounds from closing. 'Ah,' they sing resignedly, 'it is a great and baleful demon that you hymn with this evil hymn, one insatiable of calamity.' But then they add (as they did not in the *Seven*):

> *ἰὼ ἰή, διαὶ Διός*
> *παναιτίου πανεργέτα·*
> *τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται;*
> *τί τῶνδ' οὐ θεόκραντόν ἐστιν;*

> Oh, oh, because of Zeus,
> causer of all and doer of all:
> for what comes to pass for mortals without Zeus?
> What of these things is not ordained by God? (*Ag.* 1485–8)

Even the bloodthirsty machinations of the family demon are somehow, in the end, subordinate to the regimen of Zeus. Clytaemestra points out that Agamemnon had killed Iphigeneia and so deserved to die likewise by the sword. The elders do not know how they can counter this argument.

> φέρει φέροντ', ἐκτίνει δ' ὁ καίνων·
> μίμνει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν θρόνωι Διός
> παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα· θέσμιον γάρ. (1562–4)
>
> The taker is taken, the slayer pays the price.
> So it abides, while Zeus abides on his throne,
> that the doer suffers; that is the law.

Demonic powers and forces, such as the family demon of the Tantalids, play an important part in Aeschylus' poetic universe, unlike that of Homer; powers such as fatal curses, wraths, and avenging agents: Moira, Ate, Menis, Alastor, Arai, Erinyes. They seem to operate independently of the Olympians, automatically awakening and going to work in response to sinful actions and deeds of violence. But what we may call the upper and lower systems work together to one end, and Aeschylus is able to accommodate them all in the all-embracing regime of Zeus.

The darker forces are prominent in the *Choephoroi.* Clytaemestra at the end of the *Agamemnon* (1569–76) had hoped to make a pact with the demon of the Pleisthenids, by which it would agree to leave the house and plague some other family with domestic murders. But the demon will not negotiate. The blood that has been shed cannot be purged (*Cho.* 48, 66 f., 71–4). Orestes has been warned by Apollo that a series of ghastly afflictions threatens him if he fails to avenge his father (269–96). The women of the chorus in the great Kommos underline the message that the murder itself sets in motion the machinery for its own avenging. The shed blood summons an Erinys from the previous victim to bring further destruction (400–4). Agamemnon in his tomb waits, eager to see what will happen.

On the other hand, the higher powers too are ready to support Orestes' enterprise. Justice (Dike), who has been trampled to the

ground, will fight at his side (642, 497). Destiny (Aisa) is forging his sword (647, cf. 911, 927, 306). Apollo has urged him to act. He may hope for assistance from Persuasion (Peitho) and from Hermes, god of deceit (726, 812); and above all from Zeus, who sooner or later visits the sinner with his punishment. There are no great meditations on Zeus' nature, as in the *Agamemnon*, but he keeps gleaming through the dark, tangled web like the sun through clouds. The chorus women pray (306–9):

> O mighty Fates, from Zeus (*Διόθεν*) may it finish
> on the path that Justice is turning along.

Orestes calls on Zeus' name (382–3):

> *Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, κάτωθεν ἀμπέμπων*
> *ὑστερόποινον ἄταν.*
>
> Zeus, Zeus, sending up from below
> after-avenging ruin.

Electra asks yearningly (394–6):

> When might the god of living parents,
> Zeus, set his hand to the matter,
> ah, ah, cleaving heads?

Later, in the dialogue with the Nurse who is on her way to Aegisthus to tell him the news of Orestes' supposed death, the chorus-leader hints that all may not be as it seems: 'What if Zeus changes the ill wind one of these days?' (775). And having persuaded her to modify her message and tell Aegisthus to come without his bodyguard, the women sing an ode in which Zeus' name resounds three times in the first strophic pair (783–90):

> Now in response to my entreaty,
> Zeus, father of Olympian gods,
> grant good fortune . . .
> Zeus, mayest thou keep him safe!
> Hearken, Zeus, and set the one within the house
> ahead of his enemies!

Aegisthus comes and is ushered into the house. The women again invoke Zeus (855–6):

> Zeus, Zeus, what should I say? Where to begin this prayer?

And when Orestes accomplishes the task and kills his mother and her lover, they sing that Zeus' daughter, whom we call Justice, held his hand in the fight (948–51).

So the world has been set to rights—mostly; not completely. Because it is wrong to kill your mother, whatever the circumstances, however many gods and demons have driven you to do it. And so we return to our seats for the *Eumenides.*

Here it comes to a showdown between the gods and the demons, between the upper and the lower powers. The Wraths and Curses and Furies that are called into operation on behalf of a murder victim and that sought and obtained vengeance for Agamemnon in the *Choephoroi* now take on their next brief, to work on behalf of Clytaemestra and against Orestes. Apollo continues to support him; he puts him in Hermes' charge for safe conduct to Athens; Athena consents to give him a fair hearing, and eventually comes down on his side. The Furies complain that the younger gods, that is the Olympians, are trying to take away their powers and privileges. They regard themselves as the guardians of Justice (511–16, 525, 539, 564, 785).

Where is Zeus in all this? In the prologue we are told that Zeus established Apollo as the Delphic god of prophecy; he is the προφήτης of Zeus his father (17–19). This implies that the oracular advice that Apollo gave to Orestes to kill his mother had Zeus' will behind it; and later in the play, in the trial scene (616–18), Apollo declares emphatically that he has never given an oracle that Zeus the father of the Olympians had not told him to. The Furies question the idea that Zeus could have sanctioned Orestes' deed, but Apollo continues to affirm it. When Orestes is acquitted by Athena's casting vote, he attributes his salvation to Pallas and Loxias and thirdly the Saviour, the τρίτος Σωτήρ who ordains all things, that is, Zeus (758–60, cf. 797).

The frustrated Furies threaten to blight Athena's land. She tries to conciliate them, while warning that she trusts in Zeus and has access to his thunderbolts if need be. They are not easily mollified, but eventually they are won over by her offer of a position of honour in Attic cult. In their song of acceptance they begin to mention Zeus in warmer terms.

> I will accept dwelling with Pallas;
> I will not disrespect a city
> that Zeus the all-powerful and Ares
> also inhabit, fortress of gods. (916–19)

They salute the Attic people that is dear to the virgin goddess who sits close to Zeus (996–8). The women who tend Athena's temple take up torches to escort the ancient goddesses to their new home below the Acropolis, and they sing the final strophes of the play. 'Eagerly enter your torchlit dwelling', they carol:

> With Pallas' citizens Zeus the all-seeing
> and Fate have thus come to terms. (1044–6)

Upper and lower powers are after all reconciled. And this is no artificial alliance of incompatibles. The Furies may have been presented as utterly unlike the Olympians in appearance and manners, banished by Zeus from his company (347–53, 360–7), abhorred by Apollo (179 ff.), unrecognizable to Athena when they appear before her (406 ff.). They subject their victims to unholy torments that seem to have no place in the Olympian universe. Yet it was the gods who gave them these functions and appointed them as guardians of what is right in the gods' eyes (392). The people that they hound are those who have violated the norms that the gods uphold. So in the final reckoning there is no contradiction between their values and those of Aeschylus' Zeus. His right-minded daughter Athena can accept them in her city as supervisors of the citizens' life, and he himself sanctions the arrangement (1045). The trilogy ends on that note.

Aeschylus' theology is not a monotheism in any real sense: Apollo, Athena, Aphrodite (in the *Supplices*), and other gods have their own identities and roles. But it is not a real polytheism either, where gods continue on their own independent paths, sometimes in conflict, with no overall unity of purpose. As we have seen in the *Eumenides*, if the gods had differences in the past, they have been reconciled and harmonized in one unified system that is a dispensation of Zeus and Fate.

Such is the theology of Aeschylus the poet and dramatist. What about Aeschylus the man? Did he really believe in the power of the Furies, of family daemons, of wraths and curses and so on? Did his audience? Perhaps they (or some of them) had a vague, unarticulated apprehension of such dark forces, an apprehension that could be aroused occasionally by some untoward event. If Aeschylus articulates their workings in graphic detail, this is an artistic construction, not the printout of a system already fully articulated in his own convictions. The same may be true to some extent of what he says about Zeus. But with Zeus it is not so much a matter of the

dramatic exploitation of old ideas, but rather of giving voice to new ones—new ones that Aeschylus has personally been taken by. The new, improved Zeus that we meet in the *Supplices* and *Oresteia* must, we feel, be a Zeus that Aeschylus has taken into his heart: a Zeus in Aeschylus, not just in his plays.

15

King and Demos in Aeschylus

Democracy is a Greek invention and a Greek word. The word δημοκρατία is first attested in Herodotus. But the concept of the δῆμος having some form of κράτος already appears in texts of the seventh century BCE: not Athenian texts but, surprisingly, Spartan ones. I refer to that notorious constitutional document known as the Rhetra, quoted by Plutarch in his *Life of Lycurgus* (6. 2+8), and to the parallel oracle cited by Tyrtaeus (fr. 4). The Rhetra lays down the procedure for assemblies to be held at a specified place and at regular times. It reads:

Διὸς Συλλανίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Συλλανίας ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις καταστήσαντα, ὥραις ἐξ ὡρᾶν ἀπελλάζειν μεταξὺ Βαβύκας καὶ Κνακιῶνος· οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι, †γαμωδᾶν γορίαν ἢ μὴν† καὶ κράτος. αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἔροιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατῆρας ἦμεν.

Tyrtaeus' oracle consists of four hexameters; we can omit the pentameters with which he padded them out to make elegiacs:

> ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας
> πρεσβυγενέας τε γέροντας· ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας
> μυθεῖσθαί τε τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια,
> δήμου τε πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἕπεσθαι.

The ἀρχαγέται (or kings, as Plutarch explains) and the γερουσία the Council I[32] of Elders, set the agenda; they alone have the right to introduce business, and they also have the right to dissolve the assembly. But the citizen body as a whole has the right of debate and

Douglas Cairns and Vayos Liapis (edd.), *Dionysalexandros. Essays on Aeschylus and his fellow tragedians in honour of Alexander F. Garvie* (Swansea 2006), 31–40.

decision, according to the crucial provision that is transmitted in corrupt form in the manuscripts of Plutarch but is probably to be restored as δάμω δὲ ἀνταγορίαν ἦμεν καὶ κράτος. This corresponds to Tyrtaeus' verse δήμου τε πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἕπεσθαι, where πλῆθος means 'majority' and implies voting. In other words, the Demos may criticize or oppose what the kings and elders are proposing, and their vote determines whether it is enacted or not. If they 'speak crooked', that is, if they attempt to modify the proposal in a way unacceptable to the kings and elders, the kings and elders may terminate the proceedings.

We cannot call this democracy; in fact it is just the opposite of the modern 'democratic' system as operated in Britain, where it is the representatives of the Demos in the House of Commons who introduce legislation, while the elders and nobles in the House of Lords debate it and accept or reject it, but cannot in the end frustrate the wishes of a determined Commons. However, the Spartan system, while reserving governmental initiative to the kings and elders, recognizes that the consent of the Demos is important, if not essential. This recognition was not prompted by a spirit of equity or by a democratic ideal. It was an acknowledgment that an oligarchy cannot impose its will on a larger body of (probably arms-bearing) citizens, unless it has a repressive network of police or state troopers under its control, which was not the case in most Greek states. The governors had to persuade the governed and allow them certain freedoms, or else face the threat of revolt and the emergence of popular leaders.

At Athens in Solon's time there were no longer 'kings' with any significant political power, but there was a tension between the influentially wealthy and the Demos, who had vocal spokesmen inciting them to demand more for themselves. Solon claims to have balanced the interests of both sides. In fragment 5, as quoted by Plutarch (*Solon* 18. 5), we encounter again the notion of κράτος for the Demos:

> δήμωι μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος, ὅσσον ἐπαρκεῖ,
> τιμῆς οὔτ' ἀφελὼν οὔτ' ἐπορεξάμενος.

Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 12. 1) gives γέρας in place of κράτος, and this is probably the correct version. But in any case the Demos is acknowledged as a force to be reckoned with. Two or three generations later the reforms of Cleisthenes were to establish the form of democracy that prevailed in the time of Aeschylus.

[33] Athens' pride in its democratic institutions is reflected in more than one of Aeschylus' tragedies. But he (except of course in the *Persai*) was dealing with events of the heroic age, when cities were ruled by kings and these kings were often the central figures in the stories to be represented. Some of them had to be portrayed sympathetically, as rulers beloved by their subjects. There was no room in the mythical subject matter for democratic movements. The tragedian had to write as if monarchy was the right and natural form of government for a Greek state. How, then, did Aeschylus reconcile his own political preconceptions with the demands of the dramas? I shall take his six surviving plays one by one, in chronological order.

I begin with the *Persai*. The play is set in the heart of the Persian empire, far from the war in Greece. For Aeschylus it is a remote and fabulous place, and he conceives that for the Persian Queen Mother Athens is equally remote and fabulous. He makes her question the elders of the court (230 ff.): where on earth is this Athens reputed to be? Far away to the west, they tell her, hard by the setting of the sun. Why did Xerxes want to capture it? Does it really have such a wealth of men and natural resources? How do they fight? Who is their ruler? The answer to that is that they are slaves and subjects of no man. How then, the Queen wonders, are they able to withstand a hostile attack? Well enough, they remind her, to destroy a well-equipped force of Darius'. The implications of this brief dialogue are worth spelling out. Aeschylus is going out of his way to contrast the Athenian with the Persian form of government. To be ruled by one man is slavery (cf. 584–94). The inference is that the only proper form of constitution for free men is democracy.

The pronouncements of Darius' ghost make it clear that Xerxes is held personally to blame for the Persian disaster on account of his ill-judged and impious actions. When he returns in disgrace, his royal robes in tatters, the elders lament with him, but there is an element of muted reproach. One might say that the chorus is here expressing the feelings of the people at large, and that Xerxes by his misguided conduct has incurred the same sort of popular resentment as is aroused in Greece in the *Agamemnon* (450–8, quoted below) by the continual return of cremated remains from Troy. But any such thought remains latent, as Aeschylus' concept of the Persian monarch's absolute rule over a servile empire hardly allows for the existence of an independent-minded or critical Demos.

When we turn to the *Seven against Thebes* we are in the proper setting for tragedy: the world of Greek myth. In depicting the position of the king in Bronze Age Thebes Aeschylus could not draw on any contemporary paradigm. He had to construct his picture from the myth itself and from previous literary treatments. The situation in the play is not a normal peacetime one. The city is under attack and must react swiftly. Eteocles rises l[34] decisively to the challenge. He appears as the man in sole command, giving out orders and expecting to be obeyed. There is no question of his consulting any form of council or assembly. Nor is there any question of the chorus' serving to express the Demos' reactions: if Aeschylus had intended that, he would have had to make them male citizens, but instead he has chosen to make them women.

Eteocles has nevertheless to worry about the Demos' perceptions of his governance. Almost the first thing he says in the Prologue is that if the city prospers, God gets the credit, whereas if things go wrong, his own name will be on everyone's lips as they murmur reproachfully (6 f.):

> Ἐτεοκλέης ἂν εἷς πολὺς κατὰ πτόλιν
> ὑμνοῖθ' ὑπ' ἀστῶν φροιμίοις πολυρρόθοις.

These murmurs will be of the nature of preludes, φροίμια. Preludes to what? Obviously to active revolt. No doubt he has his δορυφόροι to defend him, but if the whole city should turn against him, he could hardly hope to remain in power.

In another passage the Demos appears as the guarantor of Eteocles' authority. Anyone who refuses to obey him, he says, will be condemned to death by the vote of a deliberative body and suffer public stoning (199 f.):

> ψῆφος κατ' αὐτῶν ὀλεθρία βουλεύσεται,
> λευστῆρα δήμου δ' οὔ τι μὴ φύγηι μόρον.

But this is not to be seen as a democratic feature in the Theban constitution. On the contrary, Eteocles considers the interests of the city to be so unequivocally embodied in his own commands that whoever disobeys them must be deemed an enemy of the people. The traditional form of execution by stoning, in which the whole community takes part and no individual incurs blood-guilt, presupposes a communal decision, and for this Aeschylus naturally uses the term ψῆφος. This popular vote merely confirms Eteocles' dictatorial power.

At the end of the tragedy, following the lamentations for the dead brothers, there is a further scene (1005–77) that is generally agreed to be a spurious addition, made for a revival of the play sometime after the production of Sophocles' *Antigone*; I have argued that Aeschylus' son Euphorion may have had something to do with it (*CQ* 50 (2000), 351 f. = below, pp. 247–9). Here the political set-up is entirely different. It is true that the circumstances have changed. The king |[35] has been killed, leaving no heir; there was no obvious person to take over the reins of government, though it might have been thought that the king's sisters Antigone and Ismene (who were not mentioned in the genuine text, but play a part in the interpolation) would have some prestige and deserve some deference. But no, a harsh and imperious democracy has sprung into place. A herald comes forward to report the decisions of the δήμου πρόβουλοι (1006, = Καδμείων τέλος, 1025; Καδμείων προστάται, 1026). He threatens Antigone with the anger of the Demos if she gives Polynices burial rites (1044). There are many reasons for concluding that Aeschylus did not write this portion. Nowhere else does he present democracy in such an unfavourable light; and it may be doubted whether it ever showed itself in such a light at Athens until well after his death.

A very different attitude is reflected in the *Supplices*. Danaos and his daughters arrive in Argos and are met by the king, Pelasgos. They explain their identity, their connection with Argos, and their need of protection from the sons of Aigyptos who are pursuing them. He recognizes their claim as suppliants but hesitates to commit his country to war. They are not suppliants at his private hearth but at the city as a whole; therefore it should be for the people as a whole to decide how to respond, and he will consult the whole citizen body before making any undertaking (365–9). The Danaids reply, '*You* are the polis, you are the public authority, the sole ruler, subject to no outside judgment; you administer everything at your own discretion' (370–5). After further prevarications he repeats that he is unwilling to act in the matter without the Demos, even though he has the power. He is afraid that if things go badly the people will blame him (398–401):

> εἶπον δὲ καὶ πρίν, οὐκ ἄνευ δήμου τάδε
> πράξαιμ' ἄν, οὐδέ περ κρατῶν, μὴ καί ποτε
> εἴπηι λεώς, εἴ πού τι μὴ λῶιον τύχοι,
> "ἐπήλυδας τιμῶν ἀπώλεσας πόλιν."

At 484 f. too he shows himself anxious to avoid popular criticism, which is readily forthcoming, *ἀρχῆς γὰρ φιλαίτιος λεώς*. The episode ends with his departure to summon an assembly of the people, whom he will try to persuade to take a favourable view (517 ff.). Danaos will accompany him and present his case.

Following the stasimon Danaos returns with the good news that the Argives have agreed to support them. What he describes is nothing more nor l[36] less than a democratic assembly. He uses the language of formal decrees and majority voting by show of hands:

600 *ΔΑ.* *θαρσεῖτε παῖδες· εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων·*
δήμου δέδοκται παντελῆ ψηφίσματα.
ΧΟ. *ὦ χαῖρε πρέσβυ, φίλτατ' ἀγγέλλων ἐμοί.*
ἔνισπε δ' ἡμιν ποῖ κεκύρωται τέλος,
δήμου κρατοῦσα χείρ <θ'> ὅ<πηι> πληθύνεται.
605 *ΔΑ.* *ἔδοξεν Ἀργείοισιν, οὐ διχορρόπως,*
ἀλλ' ὥστ' ἀνηβῆσαί με γηραιᾶι φρενί—
πανδημίᾱι γὰρ χερσὶ δεξιωνύμοις
ἔφριξεν αἰθὴρ τόνδε κραινόντων λόγον—
ἡμᾶς μετοικεῖν τῆσδε γῆς ἐλευθέρους, κτλ.

Note the phrase *δήμου κρατοῦσα χείρ*, 'the people's overriding vote', which foreshadows or perhaps already reflects the term *δημοκρατία*. Danaos goes on to relate how Pelasgos had addressed the assembly, not issuing commands but using the arts of persuasion, *δημηγόρους . . . εὐπειθεῖς στροφάς* (623).

In the next stasimon the Danaids utter prayers for the city's good, and now they speak as if it were a democratic republic, without mention of the king. 'May the citizens' rights be well maintained by the public authority that controls the city, the provident leadership of consensual counsel' (698–700):

φυλάσσοι τ' <εὖ τ>ὰ τίμι' ἀστοῖς
τὸ δάμιον, τὸ πτόλιν κρατύνει,
προμαθὶς εὐκοινόμητις ἀρχά.

When the Egyptian herald and his minions arrive and try to drag them away, they shout for the king, and Pelasgos appears on cue to prevent their abduction (905 ff.). But he cites the city's democratic vote as the basis for his unshakeable position (942–9, cf. 963–5). At the same time he contrasts the free and robust Hellenic spirit with the contemptible ways of barbarians (913 f., 948–53).

l[37] In this play, then, a product of the 460s, Aeschylus has chosen to

enhance the antithesis between Egyptian and Greek by presenting the Greek state as a model of enlightened self-government and the rule of law, presided over by a king—this was no doubt given by mythological tradition—but a king who refers important decisions to a democratic assembly where motions are debated and voted on. This may seem a strange and implausible construct. And yet it is not so very different from the arrangements laid down in the old Spartan Rhetra, where the kings and elders put proposals to the Demos. If the Danaids had sought sanctuary in seventh-century Sparta, this is no doubt the procedure that would have been followed. It would have needed the approval of the Demos before a step could be taken that was liable to involve the state in war.

I come lastly to the *Oresteia*. We are again in Argos, but in a completely different mythological setting. In the first play Agamemnon is king; during his absence at Troy his wife (who is addressed as 'Queen', 84) has been acknowledged as the ruler (258–60). When he returns, after greeting the local gods and acknowledging the chorus' expressions of loyalty, he announces his intentions for resuming government. He will hold a meeting of the whole people and take counsel. There will be consideration of how to maintain those parts of the state that are in good order, and how to cure those parts that ail (844–50):

> τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεούς
> κοινοὺς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει
> βουλευσόμεσθα. καὶ τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον
> ὅπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεῖ βουλευτέον·
> ὅτωι δὲ καὶ δεῖ φαρμάκων παιωνίων,
> ἤτοι κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως
> πειρασόμεσθα πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου.

There is no clear reference here to an assembly empowered to take decisions by vote; the lines need not imply anything more than a consultative meeting at which the king will listen to his subjects' representations before coming to his own decisions. But as in the *Supplices*, the good king's rule is characterized as one in which the Demos is allowed a voice. It is no harshly authoritarian monarchy.

Agamemnon is aware that a monarch is in danger of being an isolated figure. Few men are capable of looking up to a prosperous man without φθόνος, and Agamemnon is well acquainted with the flatteries of the insincere (832–40). The faithful elders of the chorus

have themselves adverted to another source of demotic φθόνος towards the Atreidai: the continuing loss of lives in the Trojan War on account of another man's wife (438 ff.). The citizens mutter in secret, and their angry murmurings have the [38] same effect as a communal curse (450–8):

> φθονερὸν δ' ὑπ' ἄλγος ἕρπει προδίκοις Ἀτρείδαις . . .
> βαρεῖα δ' ἀστῶν φάτις ξὺν κότωι,
> δημοκράντου δ' ἀρᾶς τίνει χρέος.

That is something the king must take care not to bring upon himself, for a curse engages supernatural forces that he will not be able to counter.

The chorus returns to the idea when Agamemnon is murdered and it turns out that the perpetrator is Clytaemestra. They tell her she has incurred δημοθρόους ἀράς, and that the city's hatred will drive her into exile (1407–11). She replies that they ought with greater justice to have driven Agamemnon out for sacrificing his own daughter. But she, with Aegisthus' support, is too powerful to be vulnerable to their threats. When Aegisthus himself arrives on stage, the chorus threaten him too with the people's curse, to take effect not through exile but through stoning (1615 f.):

> οὔ φημ' ἀλύξειν ἐν δίκηι τὸ σὸν κάρα
> δημορριφεῖς, σάφ' ἴσθι, λευσίμους ἀράς.

Aegisthus, like Clytaemestra, is confident that he has Argos under his control and that it is the insubordinate that will suffer. As he is an unrighteous usurper, his rule is characterized as a 'tyranny' (1633, cf. 1355, 1365, *Cho.* 973), despite his lack of the popular support that normally sustained historical Greek tyrants.

Such is the situation that continues in the *Choephoroi*: Aegisthus and Clytaemestra rule by force over a hostile and fearful (58) population. They are called οἱ κρατοῦντες (267, 377), but not king and queen. The people, naturally, are not consulted; their curse is no longer mentioned, because everything is focused on Orestes' will and resolve. In fact the Demos is left out of the picture altogether. The chorus is made up of female slaves, and the other characters who appear, apart from Aegisthus, Clytaemestra, Electra, Orestes, and Pylades, are also slaves.

If democratic ideals have no role to play in the *Choephoroi*, they have a special one in the *Eumenides*, a drama composed for the

express purpose of providing mythical backing for Athenian institutions. On Apollo's advice Orestes betakes himself to Athens, there to become a suppliant of the city's goddess.

I[39] Now, there is something strange about the Athens of this play. The dramatic date is seven or eight years after the end of the Trojan War, still well within the heroic age. Who was king at Athens? The tradition perhaps supplied no firm answer, but Aeschylus might naturally have taken it to be Menestheus, who led the Athenian force at Troy. There were various accounts of his subsequent fate, but Dictys (6. 2–4) has him reigning at Athens after the war and purifying Orestes from his parricide. Other authors (Plutarch, Pausanias, *et al.*) say that the sons of Theseus, Demophon and Acamas, after rescuing their grandmother Aethra from Troy, recovered Theseus' throne following Menestheus' death. The curious thing about the Athens of the *Eumenides* is that it has no king at all, and there is no sense of a vacancy. Aeschylus alludes to the famous mythical kings: Kranaos (1011), Erechtheus (855), Theseus (686, 1026). There is even mention of the sons of Theseus as recipients of a grant of land in the Troad (402). But there is no whisper of their presence at Athens.

The place of a king is taken by Athena. Her role corresponds exactly to that of Pelasgos in the *Supplices*. It is to her that Orestes, the suppliant in need of help against pursuers, appeals. She considers the matter too grave to be decided on her own initiative, because of the danger to her city if she gives the suppliant what he wants, and she announces that she will refer the question to a voting body—not the whole Demos, as in the *Supplices*, but a specially constituted court, the prototype of the classical Areopagus, drawn from 'the best elements among the citizens' (ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα, 487). As a first step, however, she bids a herald summon the whole citizen body to the place of counsel, the βουλευτήριον (570), to hear the proclamation of her θεσμοί. This βουλευτήριον is then more narrowly defined as the Areopagus (683 ff., 704).

We cannot say, then, that Athens is clearly portrayed in the *Eumenides* as a democracy. Nor is it a monarchy. If anything it is a theocracy: Athena is the one who organizes the city's affairs and lays down procedures for the citizens to follow. But her Areopagus, despite its limited membership, is a body that reaches decisions by listening to opposing arguments and taking a vote; and it is the mythical prototype of a body that played its part in the functioning democracy of fifth-century Athens.

So far as we know, no political history had been written in Aeschylus' time. There were no scholarly reconstructions of the constitutions of Bronze Age states. In any case Aeschylus was no more concerned than the other tragedians to avoid anachronisms or to present a pedantically accurate picture of conditions around the time of the Trojan War. People had a general awareness that in those days cities had kings who obtained power by inheritance or conquest. The kings' identities were essential to most of [40] the myths, and therefore a fixed datum for the tragedians. Some kings were better than others. For Aeschylus, living at a time and place where democracy was a matter of pride, one means of characterizing a king as good was by presenting him as a ruler with democratic instincts. We see this especially with Pelasgos in the *Supplices*, but there is a hint of it with Agamemnon too.

In the *Eumenides*, the one play with an Athenian setting, Aeschylus apparently felt that since chronology ruled out one of the great names such as Theseus, the presence of a king could be dispensed with altogether, the kingly function being transferred to the goddess who embodied the spirit of the city, Athena. She had of course been the protectress of the mythical kings. But their day had passed. She was to remain as the patron deity of the fifth-century city. It was an easy construction by the tragedian to connect Athens' democratic institutions with her.

16

Colloquialism and Naive Style in Aeschylus

My title is not meant as a hendiadys. Colloquialism and naive style are independent variables. The link between them is that they are both divergences from an ideal of elegance. I use 'ideal' here in the sense of 'abstract construct', not in the sense of 'goal'. The elegance in question is not necessarily an elegance sought or imagined by the author, or craved by his critic. It is something defined *a posteriori* by the student acquainted with the various possibilities of the language.

I shall not involve myself in a protracted discussion of what the term 'colloquialism' means, or of the criteria by which colloquialisms in ancient Greek writers are to be identified. These are necessary questions, but they have been handled very satisfactorily by others.[1] Perhaps I can get away with saying that a colloquialism is an expression that some people would sometimes avoid as lacking in dignity.

Dignity is a prevailing characteristic of tragic diction, and of Aeschylus' diction pre-eminently. Aristophanes makes him state as principles that diction should match sublimity of thought and that grand language is appropriate for heroes of divine descent (*Ran.* 1058–60). Colloquialism is not something we associate with Aeschylus. Nevertheless, P. T. Stevens was able to collect two or three dozen plausible specimens,[2] and it may be possible to find a couple more.

E. M. Craik (ed.), *Owls to Athens. Essays on classical subjects presented to Sir Kenneth Dover* (Oxford 1990), 3–12.

[1] e.g. P. T. Stevens, *CQ* 31 (1937), 182 f., and *Colloquial Expressions in Euripides* (*Hermes Einzelschriften* 38, 1976), 1–7; K. J. Dover, *Greek and the Greeks* (Collected Papers, vol. i, Oxford 1987), 16–29.

[2] 'Colloquial Expressions in Aeschylus and Sophocles', *CQ* 39 (1945), 95–105, and *Colloquial Expressions, passim.*

Why are they there? I think that three factors can be identified. One of them has been pointed out by Stevens: Aeschylus slightly differentiates the speech of subheroic characters such as the Watchman in *Agamemnon* and the Nurse in *Choephoroi* 'partly by colloquial expressions, partly by touches of naivety, garrulity, or sententiousness', whereas in Euripides 'colloquial and prosaic language contribute to a general scaling down of heroic splendour to something nearer to the ordinary life of men'.[3] The following items diagnosed as I[4] colloquial can be regarded as serving this purpose of characterizing the speaker as a 'homely' type, not special to the heroic age:

Watchman (*Ag.* 1–39): ἰοῦ ἰοῦ. τρὶς ἓξ βαλεῖν. βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ.
Herald (*Ag.* 503–680): χαίρειν καταξιῶ 572.
Doorman (*Cho.* 657): εἶέν· ἀκούω.
Nurse (*Cho.* 734–82): parenthetic πῶς γὰρ οὔ; 754. Asseverative οἶμαι 758. τί πῶς; 767.
Slave (*Cho.* 875–86): ἰού ἰού. ποῖ Κλυταιμήστρα;

It may be observed that these examples are confined to the *Oresteia*. The minor characters in the earlier plays do not seem to be treated to these touches of demotic. (ὡς ... γε *Pers.* 260 and νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ ibid. 498, cited by Stevens, *Colloquial Expressions* 48, 50, are hardly impressive instances.) On the contrary, they seem to speak with a rather stiff formality.

A second type of context favourable to colloquialism is spirited dialogue, where tempers are high or action fast. The following fall into this category:

Sept. 232 σὸν δὲ (quasi ἔργον: cf. Stevens 40). 252 οὐκ εἰς φθόρον ...;
Supp. 511 ἀλλ' εἰ ...; (cf. *Cho.* 775, and Stevens 30 on τί δ' εἰ ...;). 911 οὗτος τί ποιεῖς; 925 κλαίοις ἄν.
Ag. 1306 τί δ' ἐστι χρῆμα; (cf. *Cho.* 10, 885). 1650 f. εἶα.
Cho. 221 ἄρα (cf. Stevens 44). 719 εἶέν (cf. *Eum.* 244). 870 ἔα ἔα. 900 ποῦ δαὶ ...; 918 μὴ ἀλλ' εἰπέ.
Eum. 143 ἰοὺ ἰοὺ πύπαξ.

Choephoroi is notably rich in instances under this heading, in keeping with the especially dramatic and fast-moving style of this

[3] *CQ* 39 (1945), 95, 97.

play. One might consider adding to the list ἀποκτείνειν in *Ag.* 1250; this prosaic form (often in Euripides, but not elsewhere in Aeschylus or Sophocles) could be interpreted as having a deliberate, shocking bluntness here. But I have a suspicion that Aeschylus may actually have written σὺ μὲν κατεύχῃ, τοῖς δὲ δρᾶν ἥδῃ μέλει.

Let us now look over the rest of the material. I am disregarding *Prometheus*, convinced that it is not by Aeschylus; Stevens, while not questioning its authenticity, notes that in its use of colloquial expression it resembles the practice of Sophocles and Euripides rather than the other plays of the Aeschylean corpus.[4] I also omit one or two items cited by Stevens which I think he misclassifies: *Cho.* 676 ἀπεζύγην πόδας, in which he finds a 'homely, proverbial' tone, and *Eum.* 650 ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω, which is surely meant as 'this way and that', not in the more colloquial sense of 'upside down, in confusion'. What are we left with?

Pers. 209 ὃ δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλό γ' ἢ πτήξας δέμας | παρεῖχε. 333 ἀτάρ.

Sept. 551 αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις . . . κομπάσμασιν, 'boasts and all'. We could really put this in our second category above; Eteocles' response is notably impassioned.

l[5] *Ag.* 1299 οὐκ ἔστ' ἄλυξις . . . χρόνωι πλέον (πλέω codd.: corr. nescioquis); cf. Stevens, *CQ* 39 (1945), 104. 1507 πῶ πῶ; A colloquial use of πόθεν; underlies this (Fraenkel), but the Doricization removes it from the colloquial sphere.

Cho. 301 καὶ πρός (adv.). 680 ἄλλως 'in any case'; this comes appropriately in a report of a casual conversation.

Of the four items here that seem to be colloquial with no particular contextual justification, two come in *Persai* and one each in *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroi.* It is probably rash to try and make anything of this distribution. But as we have already noticed a development between the earlier plays and the *Oresteia* towards greater discrimination of linguistic registers as a means of characterization, it is possible that the figures—statistically insignificant as they are, especially in view of the insecurity of our criteria for colloquialism—nevertheless feebly reflect a real shift in Aeschylus' sensitivities.

[4] *CQ* 39 (1945), 97. In my *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart 1990), chapter 3, I endeavour to reinforce the arguments against the play's authenticity, and present a case for ascribing it to Aeschylus' son Euphorion.

His language is grander than Euripides', and less hospitable to colloquialism. But that does not mean that the further we go back in time, the more consistently exalted was tragic diction. How are we to imagine the style of Thespis, reputedly the first to add *rheseis* to choral performances? As supremely stern, lofty, and craggy, more Aeschylean than Aeschylus? But then we shall be faced with the problem of explaining what models Thespis could have had for such a poetic style in the time of Pisistratus. It is much more probable that his songs had the straightforward lucidity of Stesichorus, and his *rheseis* the expressive humanity of the Ionian iambus. Aristophanes' reference to him in *Vesp.* 1479 certainly does not suggest especial dignity. Aristotle believes that tragedy started with a humorous diction and took a long time to achieve the grandeur that is its true nature (*Poet.* 1449a20). 'Humorous diction' may be going too far, but we can well accept that tragic style was still in the process of becoming grander during the first few decades of the fifth century and only gradually developing a sense of the unsuitability of lively, everyday idioms in the mouths of heroes. Then, after the advent of Sophocles in 468, new tides began to run: an increase in the number and variety of characters, more confrontational dialogue and dramatic action, more visual and psychological realism. Colloquial language, it was found, might after all have a place in tragedy for certain purposes.

I turn now to naive style. The antithesis of naive style, as I understand it, is writing in which complex utterances are confidently articulated in a manner that is fully controlled, avoiding grammatical derailment and unnecessary duplication. Thucydides and Isocrates, for all the dissimilarity of their styles, may serve as examples of this kind of sophistication. The naive style does not so regularly attempt complex utterance. When it does, the writer has difficulty, as he begins his sentence, in seeing to its end. He is liable to change his logical perspective in the course of it, the consequence being a grammatical discontinuity of the sort we call anacoluthon. This may be because he finds it awkward to continue on the track he started out on, or simply because he has l[6] failed to hold it in mind; it may be that he is unfamiliar with the notion that he ought to continue on it. He may worry that his listener or reader is in danger of losing the thread as he adds one clause to another or builds an argument extending over several sentences, and he tries to counter this by

means of duplications, recapitulations, and restatements that strike the modern reader as redundant. He does not trust the logic of syntax to convey the logic of his meaning.

These features can be abundantly illustrated from the plays of Aeschylus. The first point was about attempting complexity of utterance. Now Aeschylus very often does attempt, and successfully achieve, utterances of considerable complexity and extension, though frequently he does not get through them without anacoluthon. At the same time there are some passages written in the simplest paratactic style, 'and . . . and . . . and', with hardly a subordinate clause in sight. I refer to the Queen's account of her dream in *Pers.* 189–99, and the Messenger's report in 302–30.

One species of anacoluthon particularly favoured by Aeschylus, and savoured by his friends, is the hanging nominative, usually with a participle, as in *Supp.* 446 ff.

> καὶ γλῶσσα τοξεύσασα μὴ τὰ καίρια . . .
> γένοιτο μύθου μῦθος ἂν θελκτήριος.

Other instances may be found at *Ag.* 1008, *Cho.* 66 (reading τὰ δ' αἵματ'), 520, 758, 792 (reading ἀμείψει, third person, because of θέλων), *Eum.* 95, 100, 477, and without a participle *Sept.* 681 and I think *Supp.* 1000. Similar in principle and effect is the hanging accusative of *Sept.* 400.

The commonest type of anacoluthon in Aeschylus is that where he breaks out of an incomplete syntactical structure into a new main clause. Often the switch comes after a phrase containing μέν, which leads us to expect a continuation in the same construction; for example, *Sept.* 814–17,

> τοιαῦτα χαίρειν καὶ δακρύεσθαι πάρα,
> πόλιν μὲν εὖ πράσσουσαν, οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται,
> δισσὼ στρατηγώ, διέλαχον σφυρηλάτωι
> Σκύθηι σιδήρωι κτημάτων παμπησίαν,

instead of τοὺς δ' ἐπιστάτας . . . διαλαχόντας. Parallel examples are *Sept.* 759, *Supp.* 198, 488, *Ag.* 101, 1172, *Cho.* 63, 747. The same thing may happen in an 'either . . . or' disjunction: *Cho.* 859 ff. νῦν γὰρ μέλλουσι . . . πειραὶ κοπάνων . . . ἢ πάνυ θήσειν Ἀγαμεμνονίων οἴκων ὄλεθρον . . . ἢ πῦρ καὶ φῶς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι δαίων . . . ἕξει, and similarly *Ag.* 498, *Cho.* 197 ff. As further instances of this backing out of syntactic byways and returning to the easy open road

of the indicative, we may refer to *Sept.* 617, *Ag.* 581 (where καὶ . . . καὶ = 'both . . . and'), 1641, *Cho.* 240, 301, 740.[5]

17 Another phenomenon that is scarcely at home in a *soigné* style is random fluctuation between singular and plural in accounts of what happens to people in particular circumstances, as in *Sept.* 196–9:

> κεἰ μή τις ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀκούσεται,
> ἀνὴρ γυνή τε χὥτι τῶν μεταίχμιον,
> ψῆφος κατ' αὐτῶν ὀλεθρία βουλεύσεται,
> λευστῆρα δήμου δ' οὔ τι μὴ φύγηι μόρον.

Cf. *Sept.* 352–5, *Cho.* 291–6, *Eum.* 313–15, 336–40, 375–8. With like indifference the chorus and Electra in *Cho.* 354–71, singing to and of the dead Agamemnon, can oscillate between the second and third person.

Perhaps it is not out of place to mention various instances of *ad sensum* constructions which flout the normal principles of concord in number, gender, or case. Such constructions are produced instinctively and unreflectingly, and more often, no doubt, by speakers and writers who are not trained to watch their grammar; though certainly there are circumstances in which any sensible person would take the 'ungrammatical' option. Aeschylus presents:

(Number)	*Ag.* 580	τοιαῦτα χρὴ κλυόντας εὐλογεῖν πόλιν (collective noun; a common type).
	Eum. 141	εὕδεις; ἀνίστω, κἀπολακτίσασ' ὕπνον ἰδώμεθ' . . .
(Gender)	*Sept.* 486	τέταρτος ἄλλος . . . Ἱππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος.
	Supp. 727	ἴσως γὰρ ἂν κήρυξ τις ἢ πρέσβη μόλοι ἄγειν θέλοντες.
(Case)	*Sept.* 481	ἐπεύχομαι δὴ σὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖν . . . τοῖσι δὲ δυστυχεῖν.
	Pers. 633	ἦ ῥ' ἀΐει μοι . . . ἱέντος.
	Cho. 410	πέπαλται δ' αὖτέ μοι φίλον κέαρ τόνδε κλύουσαν οἶκτον.

[5] For other authors cf. KG ii. 100; W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax* (Heidelberg 1931), 66–8; B. K. Braswell, *A Commentary on the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar* (Berlin–New York 1988), 175.

Cf. also *Pers.* 914, *Sept.* 732 f., *Ag.* 986 f. (codd.), *Cho.* 1031 f. (cod.). We might also be inclined to put under this heading constructions of the type *μέριμναι ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος τὸν ἀμφιτειχῆ λεών* (*Sept.* 289 f.), where the second accusative is governed by the verbal idea contained in the first. Comparable are *Pers.* 114, 165, 382 f., 738, 750, *Supp.* 566 f.

Sometimes accidents are caused by the crossing of two alternative means of expression that are both somehow in the author's mind. Thus *Pers.* 188 f.,

> *τούτω στάσιν τιν', ὡς ἐγὼ 'δόκουν ὁρᾶν,*
> *τεύχειν ἐν ἀλλήλησι,*

is a hybrid of *ὡς ἐδόκουν, ἔτευχον*, and *ἐδόκουν τούτω τεύχειν*. There is an analogous case at 564. At 599 the Queen begins, 'Everyone knows, *βροτοῖσιν ὡς . . .*', as if she were going to say *σύγγονον* (*Ag.* 884) or the like, but then, after I^8 the distraction of a temporal clause, the human habit is expressed by *φιλεῖ*. Further examples of mixed constructions can be found in *Pers.* 754 f., *Sept.* 19 f., 435, *Ag.* 423 (codd.).

If the reader's appetite for anacolutha is not yet dulled, he may find others, easily understood but not easily classified, at *Ag.* 83–5, 563–7, *Cho.* 192–4. If it is, he is invited to turn his attention to a 'naive' use of the demonstrative pronoun. *Pers.* 308 f.

> *Λίλαιος Ἀρσάμης τε κἈργήστης τρίτος,*
> *οἵδ' ἀμφὶ νῆσον τὴν πελειοθρέμμονα . . .*

The subject phrase being somewhat extended, a pronoun in apposition is used to signal that it is complete and the sentence is moving on. Similarly in Hes. *Op.* 504 f.,

> *μήνα δὲ Ληναιῶνα, κάκ' ἤματα, βουδόρα πάντα,*
> *τοῦτον ἀλεύασθαι,*

and Hdt. 2. 124 *ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομιέων τῶν ἐν τῶι Ἀραβίωι ὄρει, ἐκ τούτων ἔλκειν λίθους*. There are parallels in many authors (KG i. 660 f.), but in the more sophisticated writers it normally takes the intervention of a relative clause, or some similar expansion, to produce the resumptive pronoun.

When the initial subject of the sentence is an infinitival phrase or an articled infinitive, Aeschylus sometimes seems to feel that it is syntactically indigestible, and again he reduces it to a pronoun for

easy absorption: *Cho.* 59 f. *τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, | τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον*, and *Supp.* 1034 (reading *ἀμελεῖν* with Nauck), *Ag.* 916 f., *Eum.* 413 f. Related to this is the use of a pronoun to incorporate in the sentence structure a small piece of quoted utterance, which is another indigestible element. *Pers.* 114 ff.,

> *ταῦτά μοι μελαγχίτων*
> *φρὴν ἀμύσσεται φόβωι,*
> *"ὀᾶ*
> *Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος",*
> *τοῦδε μὴ πόλις πύθηται κένανδρον μέγ' ἄστυ Σουσίδος,*

and again in 122; *Ag.* 447–9, 1332–4, *Cho.* 313 f., *Eum* 510–13. This resembles, incidentally, the procedure regularly followed in Sanskrit, e.g. *Ṛgveda* 4. 25. 4 *yá "Índrāya sunávāma", íti āha*, 'who "We will press soma for Indra", thus says'.[s1] In Greek the usual practice with such short utterances is to convert them to *oratio obliqua*, or to describe their content in some other way, e.g. *ὤιμωξε* rather than *"οἴμοι" ἐβόησε*.

A clear distinction between direct and indirect speech is generally maintained by grammar-conscious writers. Aeschylus can slide straight from indirect to direct: *Sept.* 646–8,

> *Δίκη δ' ἄρ' εἶναί φησιν, ὡς τὰ γράμματα*
> *λέγει, "κατάξω δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε, καὶ πόλιν*
> *ἕξει πατρώιαν δωμάτων τ' ἐπιστροφάς",*

and *Pers.* 402, *Ag.* 447 f. Examples of this phenomenon can be found also in Homer (*Il.* 4. 301 ff., 15. 346 ff., etc.), Sappho (1. 15 ff.), Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 F 30), the earlier orators, and in many places in Xenophon.[6] Where it occurs in Plato, as at *Prot.* 322c and 338b, I would take it as a considered artifice.

It may also be thought a sign of less than total control if a word appears twice in a sentence while only functioning once—duplication not for any reason of emphasis but because the author has lost sight of the first instance, or does not rely on its continued effectiveness. We find this several times with the indefinite pronoun: *Supp.* 58 ff. *εἰ δὲ κυρεῖ τις πέλας οἰωνοπόλων . . ., δοξάσει τις ἀκούειν . . .*; *Ag.* 662 f. *ἤτοι τις ἐξέκλεψεν ἢ 'ξητήσατο | θεός τις, οὐκ*

[6] KG ii. 556 ff., [Longin.] *π. ὕψους* 27. 1 f.; H. Fränkel, *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*, 2nd ed. (Munich 1960), 80 f. It is also perfectly common in Old Norse and Old Saxon.

ἄνθρωπος; *Eum.* 545–9. Similarly with the negative: *Ag.* 1634 f. ὃς οὔκ, ἐπειδὴ τῶιδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον, | δρᾶσαι τόδ' ἔργον οὐκ ἔτλης αὐτοκτόνως.

The same principle is involved when a sentence seems to run out of impetus and a fresh start is made, grammatically parallel to the original one. At *Supp.* 40 the chorus begin their song νῦν δ' ἐπικεκλομένα Δῖον πόρτιν . . . . The rest of the strophe is filled up with elaboration of this object-phrase referring to Epaphus and with a parenthetic sentence about his birth. The initial participle has now been left dangling too long to be able to play its intended part in the main sentence, so the antistrophe begins with a fresh one: ὅν τ' ἐπιλεξαμένα νῦν . . . ἐπιδείξω. Similarly in *Ag.* 12 ff. the εὖτ' ἂν δέ clause is deprived of issue by a parenthetic sentence (14 f.), and the Watchman resumes ὅταν δὲ . . . . Again, in *Cho.* 696 ff. Clytaemestra begins καὶ νῦν Ὀρέστης, then comes a parenthesis filling a line and a half, and then a restart, νῦν δέ, with the idea expressed in a different way and the nominative Ὀρέστης not followed up.

Finally there is the 'naivety' displayed in arguments and explanations that strike us as unnecessarily explicit, as if designed for the slow-witted. *Sept.* 510–20 is a good example. After saying that Hippomedon and his Theban opponent have mutually hostile gods on their shields, Eteocles repeats what the Scout has told us about Hippomedon having Typhon on his, and adds the information that Hyperbius has Zeus on his. The implication, we should have thought, is clear enough; everyone knows that Zeus trounced Typhon. But Eteocles spends another six lines[7] spelling it out. 'This is how the divinities have allied themselves; and we are on the winning side, and they on the losing, given that Zeus is more powerful in battle than Typhon. So it can be expected that the adversaries will fare likewise, and for Hyperbius, in accord with his blazon, Zeus may well turn out the Saviour, being on his shield.' Again, when I[10] Orestes has Clytaemestra's dream related to him and proposes his interpretation of it (*Cho.* 526–50), he repeats each detail of it, in case the audience should be unequal to retaining in their minds what was vividly narrated a few lines before, and explains very fully how the snake corresponds to himself and the dream signifies his killing his mother. Such passages show that Aeschylus does not expect symbolism to be understood without painstaking exegesis, and that critics who read it

[7] I follow Hermann in deleting 514, which interrupts the thread.

extensively into his passing metaphors, or even into literal mentions of light and darkness, are nowhere near his wavelength. For a few further examples of his 'naive' abundance I refer to *Sept.* 403–6, *Ag.* 870–3, 922–5, *Cho.* 87–92, 247–54.

In directing attention to these various stylistic features and habits and putting them under the general label of 'naive style', I am not in any way seeking to disparage Aeschylus, or suggesting that he ought to have written differently. They are nearly all features paralleled in other authors, and to that extent characteristic of early Greek. 'Naive' in this context is no more pejorative than when we speak of the Naive painters. All the same, there seems something paradoxical in the case of a man universally acknowledged to be among Greece's greatest and profoundest poets, a powerfully imaginative intellect, a master of the word-hoard, who cannot be depended upon to get through a sentence without some collapse of grammar, some failure of verbal coherence, or some obtrusive pleonasm. What are we to make of it?

Grammar was not taught in Aeschylus' time. So far as we know, Protagoras and Prodicus were the first Greeks to reflect on language, look for its logic, and make pronouncements about what was or was not correct. That is not to say that before them there was no concept of incorrect language. Obviously the mistakes of a young child or a foreigner were perceived as mistakes, and he was advised what he should have said. But it is quite another matter whether anyone registered it as a mistake when Aeschylus said *καὶ σοῦ μολόντος δωματῖτιν ἑστίαν,* | *θάλπος μὲν ἐν χειμῶνι σημαίνεις μολών,* or *τὰ πάντα γάρ τις ἐκχέας ἀνθ' αἵματος* | *ἑνός, μάτην ὁ μόχθος.* The notion that a sentence should be conceived from an unchanging viewpoint throughout, or that a nominative participial phrase only has the right to exist if its subject is also the subject of a main verb, has no foundation in natural speech, or only inasmuch as these principles hold in most cases. It is grammarians who make rules out of tendencies and frown at the anomalous. Sometimes their prescriptions are so at variance with common usage that one wonders how they arrived at them, and how much they really know about language. Who has not heard—and who has never breached—the rule that in English one should not end a sentence with a preposition? Whoever invented it can have had little acquaintance with Germanic philology or insight into the origins of Indo-European 'prepositions'. In a letter published in the *Times Higher Educational Supplement* on 9 June 1989 an indignant professor (J. R. Pole) wrote:

[11] With a schooling which offers them no encouragement to attach any particular value to fine but significant distinctions, grammatical precision, or even sentences rounded out with verbs, we can hardly blame our undergraduates for many of the solecisms which have aroused the alarm of the examiners.

The axiom here assumed, that a sentence must contain a verb, is a product of grammatical theory; it can be traced back to the Platonic (or Sophistic) analysis of discourse as being created by combining nouns with verbs.[8] Yet the verbless sentence is something perfectly familiar to philologists, who dignify it with the technical name of nominal sentence. There are countless examples in Aeschylus. He has entire strophes composed of them, even strophic pairs.[9] If he is breaking a rule, it is certainly not a rule laid up in heaven (for the goddess Lachesis has five nominal sentences out of a total of seven in her speech in Pl. *Rep.* 617d–e), but one fabricated by doctrinaire men.

One cannot say that grammar should be purely descriptive and never prescriptive. A thorough grammarian must note distinctions of usage between the formal and the colloquial, the educated and the uneducated, and so on, and such distinctions entail prescriptions for anyone who seeks to use the language in a formal or an educated style. There is some confusion about these matters in contemporary public debate: in particular, in the minds of some who see that there are many more forms of living English idiom than were admitted as valid by the older and more bigoted sort of prescriptive grammarian, but who fail to see where prescription has a place, supposing linguistic discrimination to be a form of social discrimination. In some quarters the study of grammar in schools has been condemned as inimical to natural expression. In 1987 the National Union of Teachers told the Kingman Committee on the teaching of English that 'the explicit teaching of grammar does not assist the growth of linguistic confidence'. But is the confidence of the ignoramus who has no notion that there is a course to be steered a desirable educational end?

Aeschylus was, of course, no ignoramus. He had a deep knowledge of older poetry and appreciation of its styles. It is evident that

[8] Pl. *Crat.* 425a, 431c, *Soph.* 262a–c; cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, iii (Cambridge 1969), 220.

[9] *Pers.* 87–92, *Supp.* 750–2 ~ 757–9, *Cho.* 466–70 ~ 471–5.

composition involved him in much careful thought. His grip on what he was saying was, no doubt, a good deal firmer than that of the undergraduates who appal Professor Pole. But his apprehension of language, his working medium, and of what he could or could not do with it, was untouched by grammatical analysis and theory of the kind that comes so naturally to us. Not having been taught to think of a sentence as an organism in which the parts have precise functions, he had not got the idea of syntactic economy—the idea that, for example, once a subject has been stated, it can be trusted to stay in force until its work is done and I[12] need not (should not) be repeated just because a parenthesis has supervened. He was writing for audiences of like innocence, who did not expect to have to store syntactic markers for very long without reconfirmation. Aeschylus' is a language of truth, perhaps, rather than logic.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

1. For this construction cf. also Thgn. 17f., "*ὅττι καλὸν φίλον ἐστί, τὸ δ' οὐ καλὸν οὐ φίλον ἐστί*", | *τοῦτ' ἔπος ἀθανάτων ἦλθε διὰ στομάτων*; 487f., *σὺ δ'* "*ἔγχεε*", *τοῦτο μάταιον* | *κωτίλλεις αἰεί*, where B. A. van Groningen in his commentary (*Théognis. Le premier livre* (Amsterdam 1966)) cites some of the Aeschylean passages. The Sanskrit idiom is paralleled in the *Gāthās* of Zarathushtra; see my *Old Avestan Syntax and Stylistics* (Göttingen 2011), 49.

17

Where Eagles Dare:

The Parodos of the *Agamemnon*

In the long section of anapaests with which they make their entry, the old men of Argos methodically deliver three essential messages to the audience:

40–71. It is the tenth year of the Trojan War.
72–82. We are men who were too old to go and fight in it.
83–103. Some new situation seems to be indicated by the fact that Clytaemestra is organizing sacrifices throughout the town.

The righteousness of the Atreidai's cause is asserted through the simile in 48 ff. They are like vultures whose young have been stolen from the nest and whose cries are heard by some god, Apollo or Pan or Zeus, who sends eventual punishment upon the transgressors. In the same way Zeus Xenios is sending the Atreidai against Alexander. As the commentators point out, Aeschylus was influenced by two Homeric vulture similes, *Il.* 16. 428–9 *οἳ δ' ὥς τ' αἰγυπιοί . . . μεγάλα κλάζοντε μάχωνται*[1] and *Od.* 16. 216–18 *κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, ἀδινώτερον ἤ τ' οἰωνοί, | φῆναι ἢ αἰγυπιοὶ γαμψ-ώνυχες, οἵσί τε τέκνα | ἀγρόται ἐξείλοντο πάρος πετεηνὰ γενέσθαι.*

It seems to have gone unremarked that a third passage of earlier poetry was also at work in his mind, and with more far-reaching effects on the development of the parodos. I refer to the most famous

CQ 29 (1979), 1–6. The footnotes were there numbered anew on each page.

[1] I do not see the need to alter Aeschylus' *μέγαν* to accord precisely with Homer's *μεγάλα*.

poem of the most famous archaic poet after Hesiod and Homer: that epode of Archilochus in which Lycambes was admonished by means of the fable of the fox and the eagle.[2] The fox and the eagle became friends, but then the eagle carried off the fox's young to feed its own. The fox appealed to Zeus (177):

> ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος,
> σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶις
> λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά, σοὶ δὲ θηρίων
> ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει.

This idea that Zeus concerns himself with the wrongs of animals is found only here in early poetry. It contradicts Hesiod, for whom men are differentiated from other creatures by having been given Dike by Zeus (*Op.* 276ff.): birds and beasts devour one another, and Zeus cares not a button. In Archilochus he heeds the appeal, and the eagle is duly punished. It is natural to suppose that this is the source of the bird-avenging god in Aeschylus, and the supposition is confirmed by other points of contact, as will soon be seen.

It is the phrase μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἄρη in 47 that initially prompts the comparison with vultures. The addition of *Odyssey* vultures to *Iliad* vultures gives us stolen young as a parallel to the stolen Helen. Aeschylus' next need is to bring in the idea of the justice of Zeus that supports the Atreidai. In the context of his bird image, this makes him think of the Archilochean fable. He may already have it in mind when he writes of the bereaved birds wheeling over their nest, πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι (52), for Archilochus' story ends |[2] with the burning of the eagle's young in their nest and the chagrined eagle away on the wing, λαιψηρὰ κυκλώσας πτερά (181. 11).

Having once thought of the fable, Aeschylus might have noticed that it had other relevant features. It was told as a parallel to the situation of Archilochus himself, who, like the Atreidai, had not in fact lost a child but a bride. The Zeus who was involved was Zeus Xenios, for the original partnership (ξυνεωνίη) between the fox and the eagle was an essential feature of the fable (174), paralleling Archilochus' reproach to Lycambes because ὅρκον ἐνοσφίσθης

[2] Frr. 172–81 in my edition, with the testimonia; commentary in *SGEI* 132–4. [For some later echoes of the poem see *ZPE* 45 (1982), 30–2. In saying that its influence on Aeschylus had gone unremarked I regrettably overlooked the paper of F. R. Adrados in *Emérita* 32 (1964), 267–82.]

μέγαν, | ἅλας τε καὶ τράπεζαν (173). Further, the punishment visited upon the eagle, the destruction of its nest by fire, might have struck Aeschylus by its similarity to the consequence of Paris' crime.

He refers to the vultures' young as παῖδες (50). Fraenkel writes, 'παῖς is not used elsewhere of the young of beasts'. He is mistaken. It was used in Archilochus' fable, of the eagle's young (179). In a fable animals are naturally described in more human terms than elsewhere. Aeschylus had to replace the articulate prayer of Archilochus' fox by an οἰωνόθροος γόος ὀξυβόας, but he found the use of παῖδες acceptable.[3]

The chorus returns to the departure of the Atreidai and their army in the opening triad of the great cantata that follows the anapaests. The formulation of the theme in 104, ὅδιον κράτος αἴσιον ἀνδρῶν ἐκτελέων, puts in a nutshell the main points of 40–62: the movement of the powerful force, the justice of the cause, the royal authority of the two leaders. Once again the Atreidai appear as a pair of mighty birds, only this time it is not a simile but a portent, interpreted by Calchas. The motif of a portent appearing at the outset of the expedition was not Aeschylus' invention. In the *Cypria*, which must have been his main source for the early part of the Trojan War, the army beheld at Aulis a snake devouring a sparrow with eight chicks and then turning to stone. Calchas interpreted this to mean that the Greeks would fight for nine years and be victorious in the tenth.[4] This is Aeschylus' starting-point, but he transforms the portent. For the snake and the brood of sparrows he substitutes a pair of eagles and a pregnant hare, a grander picture in itself[5] and (more importantly) one that relates directly to the Atreidai who are the focal figures in his narrative. Calchas can no longer predict the exact length of the war, because the victim's young no longer have a definite number, but his prophecy in the epic was obviously the model for

χρόνωι μὲν ἀγρεῖ Πριάμου πόλιν ἅδε κέλευθος.[6]

[3] Further examples of παῖς of an animal's young may be found in a poet particularly given to describing the animal world in human terms, Oppian (*Hal.* 5. 556, 558, 570, etc.). [Also at Eur. *Cycl.* 41 (cj.).]

[4] Proclus' summary+Apollod. epit. 3. 15. The episode was traditional and already familiar to the poet of the *Iliad* (2. 308 ff.).

[5] Homeric models: *Il.* 8. 247 f., 12. 219 ff., *Od.* 15. 160 f., 525 ff., 20. 242 f.

[6] 126. In the line before read τεράζων, not τεράιζων. There can be no justification for a long alpha. Few editors seem to have a firm grasp on the principles of word formation. Why, for example, do they change δορυπάλτου in 116 to δοριπάλτου, which could only mean 'shaking/shaken *by* spear'?

Aeschylus might have chosen eagles to represent the Atreidai even if he had not compared them to birds of prey in 49 ff., but since he had, we cannot expect to find his mind free from the associations of the earlier passage. In fact the l^3 echoes of Archilochus continue. We have actually moved closer to the fable, for we now have *eagles* who have seized a weak four-footed creature for their meal. That is not all. Porphyry on *Il.* 24. 315 tells us that Archilochus referred to the black eagle in the line (178)

μή τεο μελαμπύγου τύχηις.

According to Tzetzes on Lyc. 91 he knew the white-rumped πύγαργος as well, though this may just be an inference from the reference to the μελάμπυγος. It would be a valid enough inference. Archilochus clearly did know the distinction between the two varieties of eagle, and the line quoted implies the distinction in respect of ferocity as well as mere colouring. It is a dimeter, and therefore from an epode, and it is highly probable that it came from the epode about the fox and the eagle. The fox was probably warning the miscreant eagle that he might encounter one stronger than himself.[7] That was the only place in archaic poetry, so far as we know, where the black- and the white-rumped eagle were contrasted;[8] and Aeschylus applies just this contrast to the eagles of his portent, to symbolize the difference in ferocity between the two sons of Atreus.

Some time after taking the fox's cubs, Archilochus' eagle seized a piece of another animal from a burning altar,[9] and, bringing it back to the eyrie,

προύθηκε παισὶ δεῖπνον αἰηνὲς φέρων

(179). We have noted that the word παισί is abnormal in the animal world. The same is true of δεῖπνον. In Homer it is used only of humans' meals.[10] The extension to animals begins in fable: besides

[7] *SGEI* 133.

[8] μελανόρσου has been conjectured in *Il.* 21. 252. See Fraenkel on *Ag.* 115.

[9] In the Aesopic version of the fable (1 Perry) it is a goat. We do not know whether it was a goat in Archilochus.

[10] Likewise δαίς, unless Zenodotus' reading in *Il.* 1. 5 is right. Aristarchus rejected it on the ground that ἐπὶ μόνων ἀνθρώπων δαῖτα λέγει ὁ ποιητής, ἐπὶ δὲ θηρίων οὐκέτι. [The statement in the text is incorrect: δεῖπνον is used of a meal for horses at *Il.* 2. 383 (and for dogs at Hom. *Epigr.* 11. 2).]

Archilochus, Hesiod has it in his story of the hawk and the nightingale (*Op.* 209). In *Supp.* 800 f. Aeschylus had written

> κυσὶν δ' ἔπειθ' ἕλωρα κἀπιχωρίοις
> ὄρνισι δεῖπνον οὐκ ἀναίνομαι πέλειν.

This appears to be inspired by *Il.* 1. 5 in the version later read by Zenodotus. But when in *Ag.* 137 he writes στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν, this looks like another echo of Archilochus.

In the *Cypria* Calchas' interpretation of the portent referred only to the duration and outcome of the war. No question of Artemis' hostility arose till much later, after the Greeks had sacked Teuthrania under the curious misapprehension that it was Troy and returned to Aulis to start again. Then Agamemnon killed a stag and boasted that not even Artemis could have done it so well.[11] She was angry and prevented the ships from sailing. Calchas announced that she required the sacrifice of Agamemnon's fairest daughter, and it was carried out. Aeschylus masterfully concentrates and unifies this rambling story, eliminating the Mysian excursion and Agamemnon's insult towards Artemis, so [14] that the ἄπλοια which necessitates the sacrifice of Iphigeneia becomes an arbitrary imposition from the gods, already foreshadowed in the seer's first prophecy. The new reason for Artemis' displeasure is that 'she abhors the eagles' meal', because the hare was about to give birth. In the interests of compression Aeschylus has seized upon the first thing that could be represented as angering the goddess. Yet it would hardly have occurred to him to put this construction on the killing of a hare by a pair of eagles if his mind had not already been engaged by Archilochus' fable with its theme of divine vengeance for a wronged animal. In 55 f. he had envisaged the possibility of other gods besides Zeus exercising this protection: Apollo, perhaps, or Pan. So here in the portent was a ready-made πρόφασις for Artemis' anger.

Logically she ought to vent it on the eagles, not on Agamemnon, whose record of conduct towards pregnant animals is spotless. But her opposition to him is an immutable feature of the story, and it has to follow whatever reason Aeschylus chooses to give for her displeasure. It cannot follow logically if he chooses to avoid attributing a definite fault to Agamemnon. Still, we are justified in asking whether

[11] A typical epic motif. Compare the boasts of Thamyris and Niobe, *Il.* 2. 597 and 24. 607 f.

the business of Artemis and the hare does not have some deeper significance in relation to Agamemnon's whole destiny. Aeschylus sees Agamemnon's murder as fitting into the general pattern of events, so as to be just from one viewpoint or another, in three separate ways:

1. It balances his killing of Iphigeneia. This is primarily Clytaemestra's excuse (1412 ff., 1432 f., 1523 ff.): other people do not admit that it justifies her action, though the connection between the two deaths is recognized by Calchas (154 f.)[12] and by the chorus (1559 ff.).[13]
2. It balances Atreus' killing of Thyestes' children. This is primarily Aegisthus' excuse, he being Thyestes' surviving son (1223 ff., cf. 1338 ff.; 1582 ff.); Clytaemestra also claims to be regarded as the incarnation of the ἀλάστωρ concerned with that event (1497 ff.). Thyestes pronounced a curse upon the Pleisthenid family (1600–2), so that Agamemnon's death by violence was bound to follow. Aeschylus also, with the coming death of Aegisthus in mind, speaks of the δαίμων of the house of Tantalus who ordains a continuing series of murders (1468 ff., cf. 1186 ff., 1507 ff.; 1565 ff., where Iphigeneia is included in the series; *Cho.* 1065 ff., where she is not). The justice of the 'blood for blood' principle is recognized by the choruses in *Ag.* 1562–4, *Cho.* 306–14, 400–4; in the *Choephoroi*, of course, it favours the hero.
3. It balances Agamemnon's abnormal prosperity and success in taking Troy. The chorus hint at this by their remarks on the temporary nature of all victory except Zeus' in 167–75,[14] and more definitely by their reflections in 456–74 and 1331–42. Cassandra hints at it in 1286–8. Above all the 'carpet scene' serves to put Agamemnon on the wrong side of the line dividing enough from excess.

[12] The audience could not but think of Clytaemestra when he spoke of the sacrifice as νεικέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον οὐ δεισήνορα and referred to an οἰκονόμος δολία, μνάμων Μῆνις τεκνόποινος.

[13] Elsewhere Clytaemestra is represented as paying Agamemnon back for his attention to Cassandra (1263, 1438 ff.).

[14] I regard it as mistaken to see in these lines a reference to Ouranos and Kronos. How can it be said of Ouranos that he will cease to be spoken of (if οὐδὲ λέξεται is the right reading)?

Of these three considerations, Aeschylus has more sympathy with the second than with the first,[15] but he needs the third too to satisfy his own sense [5] of divine justice. Agamemnon's overthrow is acceptable in the end not because of Atreus or Iphigeneia but because he has enjoyed triumph and exulted in magnificence.

If Artemis' φθόνος in the eagle portent (134) symbolizes anything of universal meaning, it is surely this. The powerful naturally crush the weak, and the Atreidai will sack Troy; but the weak have their divine protectors, the gods in time redress the balance and exact a price. Such was the lesson of the Archilochean fable that lay below the portent in Aeschylus' mind. And such is the burden of the so-called hymn to Zeus which interrupts the narrative in 160–83. All greatness is brought low. He that was once mighty and warlike will be forgotten. He that succeeded him is overthrown in his turn. The only permanent winner is Zeus, with his truth that men never learn until it is too late, until they have transgressed and suffered. By his rough, unpredictable instruction they grow wiser perforce. But how can they love gods who govern so harshly?[16] And (184) harsh it was for Agamemnon, when the winds prevented sailing and Calchas told him what he had to do: he found himself riven by a choice of monstrous evils.

Aeschylus does not make him blame the gods in so many words, but he does make a point of saying that he did not blame Calchas: 186 μάντιν οὔτινα ψέγων. Here again Aeschylus has the *Cypria* in mind and is changing the story. For we may take it as certain that Calchas' exposition of the cause and cure of Artemis' anger in that epic—in any epic—was followed by a speech from Agamemnon similar in tone to *Il.* 1. 106 f.,

> μάντι κακῶν, οὔ πώ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας·
> αἰεί τοι τὰ κάκ' ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι.

Homer is no doubt alluding to the episode at Aulis; less than forty lines before, he has introduced Calchas as the seer who νήεσσ' ἡγήσατο Ἴλιον εἴσω | ἣν διὰ μαντοσύνην (71 f.), and in Book 2 h

[15] He does not deny that the sacrifice of Iphigeneia was an unholy act, but he does all he can to persuade us that Agamemnon had no alternative and did it much against his will.

[16] The text as given by M and V, with interrogative ποῦ and adverbial βιαίως, is successfully vindicated by M. Pope in *JHS* 94 (1974), 100 ff. I am not persuaded by the counter-arguments of N. B. Booth in *CQ* 26 (1976), 220 ff.

will not only recall the portent of the snake and sparrows but adapt the catalogue of the Greek armada as it assembled at Aulis to the Trojan setting. Clearly the *Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος* was part of his repertory, and in reciting it he would have represented Agamemnon as reacting to Calchas' prescription in much the same way as in *Iliad* 1. The *Cypria* was the work of a later poet, but the episode cannot have been related very differently in it. Possibly Aeschylus' moving words in 202–4, *ὥστε χθόνα βάκτροις ἐπικρούσανταις Ἀτρείδας δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν*, reflect something in the epic account. Lines like *Il.* 1. 245, *ὣς φάτο Πηλείδης, ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίηι*, and 357 *ὣς φάτο δάκρυ χέων*, illustrate the means available to the epic poet.

But to return to Archilochus' epode. Had it come down to us complete, we might be able to find yet more echoes of it in the parodos of the *Agamemnon.* Even as it is, the recognition of this influence throws an unexpected light on the awesome workshop of Aeschylus' mind. Such striking ideas as the god hearing the vultures' complaint, the diverse colouring of the two eagles who stand for the Atreidai, and Artemis' avenging of the hare, are traced to their source, without discredit to Aeschylus' originality when we consider the I^6 new significance he has given to his borrowings in the organic structure of his poem. The continuing productiveness of the fable over nearly a hundred lines of the play brings home to us once more the scale, depth, and integrity of Aeschylus' thought.

18

On Garvie's *Choephori*

Aeschylus, Choephori. With introduction and commentary by A. F. Garvie. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1986. lx+394 pp.

The need for a detailed, up-to-date commentary on the play was clear, and it is fully met by this solid and substantial work. As is usual with the commentaries on tragedy published in this format by the Oxford Press, the text and apparatus are reproduced from the OCT edition (Page's in this case) in the interests of economy, without of course compromising the commentator's freedom to argue for other readings. Much of Garvie's commentary is in fact taken up by discussion of textual and linguistic problems. That is as it should be in a play where such problems are so abundant and so serious: of the critic who fails to engage with them it may be said in the literal sense that he does not know what he is talking about. But if in this regard G.'s work stands firmly and worthily in the philological tradition, it also shows awareness of and sympathy with a variety of modern approaches to Aeschylus. There is the theatre-consciousness that we all owe at least in part to Oliver Taplin. There are also, more regrettably, manifestations of that curse of contemporary Aeschylean criticism, the belief in the structural significance of recurrent imagery—more on this later—and an occasional tendency to quote, albeit non-committally, fantastic interpretations by recent scholars just because they are different.[1]

The Introduction begins with a diligent survey of the Orestes story in literature and art before Aeschylus. The version of the epic *Nostoi*

Gnomon 59 (1987), 193–8 (excerpts).

[1] For example the views of Lebeck and Rabinowitz quoted on 211 and 247–9 respectively.

must have been especially influential, and here G. has missed a trick by not being aware that Proclus' summary[2] can be amplified from the parallel account in Apollod. epit. 6. In particular there is some chance[3] that the net-like robe (6. 23 *χίτωνα ἄχειρα καὶ ἀτράχηλον*) is to be ascribed to the *Nostoi*. Another point to be noted is that 'Hesiod' is pseudo-Hesiod and not necessarily earlier than Stesichorus, with whom there are several significant points of contact.[4]

There follow sections on the play (its place in the trilogy, dramatic unity, structure, etc.), on its staging, and on the sources for the text. With regard to the staging the main problems are:

(*a*) The shift of scene from Agamemnon's tomb to the palace. G. may well be right in supposing that the whole first part of the play was acted in the orchestra, with the palace building visible in the background but 'out of focus'. But the possibility of an actual change of scenery should perhaps not be rejected out of hand. At this early date the *σκηνή* may have been light and easily movable.[5]

(*b*) The possible presence of a statue of Apollo or Hermes in front of the house. G. thinks there was one of Hermes, and that *τούτωι* in 583 refers to him. Such a statue would not be out of place, but I see no evidence for it; it is ignored in 727 and 812, and as for 583, the echo of 489 seems decisive in favour of *τούτωι* being Agamemnon.

(*c*) The question whether the house was represented with one, |[194] two, or three doors. G. makes a strong case for two. No other surviving tragedy seems to require more than one, but here again things may have been more flexible at this date, when the painted *σκηνή* was still a new element, than subsequently.

[Several paragraphs omitted.]

|[195] Now for that 'curse of contemporary Aeschylean criticism'. It first raises its lurid and self-indulgent head on pp. xxxvi ff. 'Such

[2] Proclus is dated in the wrong century on p. xiii.

[3] [I no longer believe this.]

[4] Cf. my book *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985), 133–5, adding the references in both poets to Pleisthenes as Agamemnon's father ('Hes.' fr. 194, *PMGF* 219), the oath of Helen's suitors ('Hes.' fr. 204. 78 ff., *PMGF* 190), and the apotheosis of Iphimede-Iphigeneia ('Hes.' fr. 23a. 21 ff., *PMGF* 215). On the dating of the Hesiodic poem—anyway sixth century—see ibid. 130–7 (not available to G.).

[5] [New note:] Such an assumption is particularly helpful in connection with the staging of the *Eumenides*. See my *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart 1990), 264–70.

visual parallels [between scenes] are reinforced on a verbal level by the use of a highly intricate system of interrelated recurring themes and images.' G. then quotes and evidently endorses A. Lebeck's proposition that 'By the use of kindred imagery Aeschylus gives meaning and coherence to events; it is thus that he establishes the causal connection between them', and a similar statement by T. G. Rosenmeyer. This is the current orthodoxy, and one can see reasons for its popularity: it opens up a field of 'research' that can be pursued without having to engage in difficult linguistic judgments, and it is bound to appeal to all those who think that, if a poet is great and admirable, there is no limit to the beauties and subtleties that one should be willing to ascribe to his artistic genius. Yet this orthodoxy is surely based on a monstrous misconception of the nature of ancient poetic composition, a monstrous anachronism. Aeschylus is not Wagner, placing his *Leitmotive* to make deliberate links between distant passages, still less organizing them into a 'highly intricate system'. He is a profound and imaginative poet who creates great effects from modest resources. While far removed from the formulaic style of epic, he does not strive greatly for variety of expression or illustration. Unconscious (or uncaring) repetition of words and phrases is a salient feature of his style. It is the same with imagery. He has certain favourite images and fields of imagery to which he has recourse again and again because he likes them, because they are lodged in his mind like bacteria in a well, because they continue to be appropriate, not because he wishes to recall some earlier passage or prepare for some later one. When that is his purpose he has much more direct and explicit ways of effecting it. So when, for example, G. asserts (on 255) that the reference to Agamemnon as a sacrificer to Zeus (in Orestes' prayer to Zeus) is meant to remind us of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia (to Artemis), and that the metaphor of the eagle's young is meant to recall the parodos of *Agamemnon* and thus 'serves to connect the different episodes in the family-story', I find this worse than gratuitous: it confuses the clear, archaic rhetoric of Orestes' appeal by the introduction of irrelevant and inopportune associations. Is it maintained that Aeschylus would have written the passage differently if there had been no animal imagery in the *Agamemnon* parodos? On 536–7 we read that the description of the braziers lighting up when Clytaemestra cries out in the night 'is not mere decoration but part of the recurring light/darkness imagery of the trilogy. The lights

blaze up for the sake of the mistress, but darkness is about to come upon her. It is for Orestes that the light is now to shine.' If Aeschylus had intended this topsy-turvy conceit, he would have made Orestes formulate it in 547 ff.; *Sept.* 400 ff. suggests how he would have gone about it. On 673 G. finds that the phrase *πόνων θελκτηρία στρώμνη* 'recalls the more fundamental troubles from which the Watchman of *Ag.* prays for delivery'. Why on earth should it, and how is our appreciation of 668 ff. enhanced if it does? How does the Nurse's recollection of Orestes' infant cries, 751 *νυκτιπλάγκτων ὀρθίων κελευμάτων*, gain by being read as a 'deliberate echo' of I[196] Clytaemestra's *νυκτίπλαγκτα δείματα* in 524? Again, the curb removed from the house at 961 is described as 'one of a series of images that link the various episodes in the story; *Ag.* 218 *λέπαδνον*, *Ag.* 953, 1071, 1226 *ζυγόν*, 238, 1066 *χαλινός*, 133 *στόμιον μέγα*'. In what sense does this congeries of yokes, bits, and bridles link episodes together—except as being the work of a single poet? Afraid, perhaps, of seeming out of touch with modern critical methods, G. has accepted them all too unreflectingly. Fortunately these notes form only a minor element in what is otherwise a fine and valuable commentary.

[The remainder is omitted.]

19

Iliad and *Aethiopis* on the Stage:
Aeschylus and Son

Aeschylus, according to a famous report, described his tragedies as 'cuts from Homer's great banquets'.[1] The anecdote has the ring of truth, particularly as 'Homer' here must include the Epic Cycle, which would hardly have been possible after the fifth century; and there is an obvious source from which Athenaeus might have taken the story, the Ἐπιδημίαι of Ion of Chios, which he cites in three other places. This work had the character of a personal memoir describing notable Athenian statesmen, poets, and philosophers whom Ion had known. The emphasis was on their personalities as revealed in their public speeches and private conversation. One of Athenaeus' quotations from it is about Sophocles, and we know from other evidence that as a young man Ion had met Aeschylus too.[2] The anecdote would have been perfectly in place in such a book.

In any case it makes good sense, seeing that the Trojan Cycle provided the subject matter for many of the plays in the Aeschylean canon:

CQ 50 (2000), 338–52.

[1] Ath. 347e . . . τὸ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ λαμπροῦ Αἰσχύλου, ὃς τὰς αὑτοῦ τραγωιδίας τεμάχη εἶναι ἔλεγεν τῶν Ὁμήρου μεγάλων δείπνων. There follows the story that after a defeat in the competition he said he dedicated his tragedies to Time; for this Athenaeus names his source as Theophrastus (fr. 553) or Chamaeleon, Περὶ ἡδονῆς (fr. 7 Wehrli=9 Giordano).

[2] Plut. *De prof. in virtute* 79e=Ion *FGrHist* 392 F 22, probably also from the Ἐπιδημίαι. On Ion's life and writings cf. my paper in *BICS* 32 (1985), 71–8 [to be included in *Hellenica* iii].

(*Cypria*)	*Τήλεφος, Μυσοί, Ἰφιγένεια, Παλαμήδης, *Κύκνος.*[3]
(*Iliad*)	*Μυρμιδόνες, Κᾶρες (=Εὐρώπη), Φρύγες (=Ἕκτορος λύτρα).*
(*Aethiopis*)	*Μέμνων, Ψυχοστασία, Νηρῆιδες* (see below).
(*Little Iliad*)	*Ὅπλων κρίσις, Θρῆισσαι, Φιλοκτήτης.*
(*Nostoi*)	*Ἀγαμέμνων, Χοηφόροι, Σαλαμίνιαι.*
(*Odyssey*)	*Πρωτεύς* (σάτυροι), *Κίρκη* (σάτυροι), *Ψυχαγωγοί, Πηνελόπη, ?Ὀστολόγοι.*

It will be noticed that two of the Cyclic poems are not represented in the list. The absence of the *Telegony* is not very surprising: it offered only one suitable theme for tragedy, the death of Odysseus at his son's hands, which Sophocles took up for his *Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ*. It is possible, of course, that the poem did not become known at Athens until late in Aeschylus' life or after his death. More remarkable is his failure to dramatize any episode from the *Iliou Persis*, which supplied Sophocles with material for four plays (*Laokoon, Sinon, Aias Lokros, Polyxena*).

A number of the Aeschylean titles are easily combined in trilogies, for example:

(I) *Τήλεφος, Ἰφιγένεια, Παλαμήδης* (Zieliński);

(II) *Ὅπλων κρίσις, Θρῆισσαι, Σαλαμίνιαι* (Welcker, Hermann), or perhaps *Φιλοκτήτης* as the third;

|339 (III) *Ψυχαγωγοί, Πηνελόπη, ?Ὀστολόγοι* (Wecklein), with *Κίρκη* as the satyr play (Wilamowitz).[4]

There is broad agreement at least on the assumption of an Achilles trilogy and a Memnon trilogy, and it is with these that the present paper is concerned.

Discussion has usually focused on the contents of the individual plays and the structure of the trilogies. I shall grapple with those matters, but I shall also be addressing what has not hitherto been recognized as a problem: the question whether all the plays were genuinely by Aeschylus. I shall not query the authenticity of any

[3] This play, if it existed at all, might be identical with the *Μυσοί*; cf. W. Schadewaldt, *Hermes* 71 (1936), 39 f. = *Hellas und Hesperien* (Zürich–Stuttgart 1970), i. 323.

[4] See the conspectus of trilogy reconstructions in S. Radt, *TrGF* iii (Göttingen 1985), 111–19.

of those making up the Achilles trilogy, though I shall assign the *Nereides* to a different place in it from the conventional one. I will argue, however, that Aeschylus left the Memnon trilogy uncompleted, and that his son Euphorion filled it out with his own work.

Aeschylus had two sons, Euphorion (named after Aeschylus' father) and Euaion. Both were active as tragic poets. Euphorion, at least, was competent enough to defeat both Sophocles and Euripides in the Dionysia of 431. It is reported of him in the *Suda* (ε 3800) that on four occasions he won victories with tragedies of his father's that had not previously been produced:

Εὐφορίων, υἱὸς Αἰσχύλου τοῦ τραγικοῦ, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικὸς καὶ αὐτός· ὃς καὶ τοῖς Αἰσχύλου τοῦ πατρός, οἷς μήπω ἦν ἐπιδειξάμενος, τετράκις ἐνίκησεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ οἰκεῖα.

As it was usual to enter three tragedies and a satyr play at each competition, Euphorion would appear to have had a remarkably large number of unperformed plays of Aeschylus at his disposal. That stirs misgivings. Why should Aeschylus have written so many plays that never reached the stage?

This is, as I have argued elsewhere,[5] the key to the problem of the *Prometheus Desmotes*, a play whose Aeschylean authorship was uncontested in antiquity but which, by various technical and dramaturgical criteria, diverges from Aeschylus' manner in so many ways that it cannot be accepted as his work. It appears by these criteria not to have been written until fifteen or twenty years after his death—just when Euphorion was active in the theatre. There is only one feasible solution to the riddle, and it really is a simple solution. Euphorion composed the play himself, together with the *Prometheus Lyomenos*, which is inseparably connected with the *Desmotes*, and probably a third play to make up a trilogy. But he produced these plays under his father's name, perhaps to create a favourable prejudice among the judges.

If he did this once, must we not suspect that the same was the case with at least some of the four victories that he won with previously unknown plays of his father's? He might on occasion have juxtaposed genuine plays of Aeschylus with new ones of his own to make up tetralogies, just as he probably followed his Prometheus trilogy

[5] *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart 1990), 67–72.

with the genuine Aeschylean satyr play *Prometheus Pyrkaeus*. In any case the suspicion must be that he presented a number of his own works as plays of Aeschylus, and that they were subsequently preserved under Aeschylus' name, to become known to us in the form of titles and fragments. When we study the fragmentary plays, therefore, we ought to be on our guard against the possibility of spurious pieces. There is a double criterion at our disposal: divergence from Aeschylean technique, and similarity with the style and technique of the *Prometheus Desmotes*.

|340 We have six titles of Aeschylean tragedies based on episodes from the *Iliad* and *Aethiopis*. Three of them were concerned with Achilles, one with Sarpedon, and two with Memnon. That the three Achilles plays made up a trilogy, as usually assumed, is indeed highly probable. That the two Memnon plays belonged together is equally likely and equally uncontroversial. There is less agreement over the identity of a third play that might have stood with them.

THE ACHILLES PLAYS

I begin with the Achilles plays.[6] In first place stood the *Myrmidones*. Its title refers to Achilles' followers, who formed the chorus. The action can largely be reconstructed. The scene was the Greek camp. At the start of the play Achilles sat silent, in his cabin but visible to the audience.[7] The chorus entered, addressing him in anapaests, which led on to lyrics.[8] The military situation was desperate: the Myrmidons wanted to know why Achilles still kept himself aloof and gave no assistance. He remained silent. Then came emissaries from

[6] On these see in general F. G. Welcker, *Die Aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus* (Darmstadt 1824), 415–30; G. Hermann, *Opuscula* v (Leipzig 1834), 136–63, with Welcker's response in *Die griechische Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus geordnet*, i (Bonn 1839), 33–7; O. Ribbeck, *Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik* (Leipzig 1875), 349 ff.; C. Robert, *Bild und Lied* (Berlin 1881), 129–42; N. Wecklein, *SBAW* 1891, 327 ff.; L. Croiset, *RÉG* 7 (1894), 151 ff.; L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris 1926), 52 ff., 114 ff.; W. Schadewaldt, *Hermes* 71 (1936), 25–69 = *Hellas und Hesperien*, i. 308–54; B. Döhle, 'Die "Achilleis" des Aischylos in ihrer Auswirkung auf die attische Vasenmalerei des 5. Jahrhunderts', *Klio* 49 (1967), 63–149; O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford 1977), 196 n. 2; A. H. Sommerstein, *Aeschylean Tragedy* (Bari 1996), 338–48.

[7] εἶσω κλισίας, F 131. 3.

[8] F 132; cf. Ar. *Ran.* 914; Hermann (as n. 6), 137.

Agamemnon. Odysseus, perhaps, made a speech, to which Achilles again gave no reply.[s1] Later Phoenix appealed to him; he finally obtained a response (F 132b), but probably a negative one. In the next scene a new character appeared—perhaps Patroclus (Schadewaldt) or Eurypylus (Hermann)—to report that the Trojans were now closing in and had set fire to a ship (F 134). Achilles could delay no longer. He sent Patroclus off to fight, no doubt with the instructions that we know from the *Iliad*, that he should drive the enemy away from the ships but not pursue them further. The chorus must have sung and danced again, after which Antilochus arrived with the grim news that Patroclus, after heroic feats of arms, had fallen.[9] Presently the body was brought in, and the laments of Achilles and the Myrmidons brought the play to an end.[10]

There can be no doubt about the authenticity of the *Myrmidones*. The language and the metre of the fragments are entirely in accord with Aeschylus' style, as is the structure of the play, which is reconstructed with reasonable certainty. There is, moreover, a series of vase paintings which show the grieving Achilles with his head |[341] covered; they begin around 490, and have been persuasively interpreted as showing the influence of Aeschylus' drama.[11]

Since Welcker and Hermann it has been commonly assumed that the second play in the trilogy was the *Nereides*. The Nereids who formed its chorus had evidently come up on shore under the leadership of Thetis. In the *Iliad* this happens only once, when Achilles laments Patroclus (18. 65–9). Achilles there tells his mother that he is now desirous of returning to battle to avenge his friend's death on Hector. She points out that he has lost his armour and weapons; she

[9] Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1040 f. Aeschylus might have quoted *Il.* 18. 20 κεῖται Πάτροκλος as the first half of a trimeter.

[10] Besides the fragments collected in Radt's edition in *TrGF*, those of Accius' *Myrmidones* and perhaps of his *Epinausimache* deserve notice (Welcker (as n. 6), 420; O. Ribbeck, *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig 1897), i. 158–60, 204–7; Robert (as n. 6), 133–40). See also Wilamowitz, *Aischylos. Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914), 245; W. Schadewaldt, *Hermes* 71 (1936), 25–60 = *Hellas u. Hesperien*, i. 308 ff.; B. Snell, *Szenen aus griechischen Dramen* (Berlin 1971), 1 ff.; O. Taplin, *HSCP* 76 (1972), 62–75; id., *Stagecraft*, 196 n. 2, 423; B. Gredley in J. Redmond (ed.), *Drama and the Actor* (Cambridge 1984), 8–10.

[11] B. Döhle (as n. 6), esp. 95 ff. An anonymous referee objects that if the vases are really so early, and reflect Aeschylus, this famous trilogy must have failed to win the prize, since Aeschylus' first victory is dated to 484. But many famous plays failed to win, *Oedipus Tyrannus* for example. In any case, does anyone trust vase datings to within five years, even so close to the 480 destruction layer?

promises to bring him a new set, and after visiting Hephaestus she does so. It has been supposed that this was the starting-point for the *Nereides*. The play would have contained the delivery of the new weapons, the reconciliation with Agamemnon, and as its climax the killing of Hector.

There are difficulties in this hypothesis. The action of the play must all have taken place at Achilles' cabin, as the Nereids cannot be imagined to move inland. Hector could not have appeared there while still alive. The climax of the play, then, would have been the death of a hero who had not been seen on the stage at all. His body could certainly have been brought in, but how were the Nereids to react? With joyful dances round the corpse? An odd sort of tragedy that would have been. Or like the women in *Choephoroi*, suddenly struck by doubt and foreboding for the hero? That might be conceivable if the following play was to contain Achilles' death. But everyone who makes the *Nereides* the second play of the trilogy makes the *Phryges* the third. Hector's body and Nereids do not go together. It is hard to envisage his death being treated on the tragic stage otherwise than from the Trojan point of view.

I believe rather that the second play of the trilogy was the *Phryges*. Its subject matter was taken from *Iliad* 24: Priam's nocturnal visit to Achilles to pay ransom for his son's body. The spectators would have understood at once, and without surprise, that the battle in which Hector was killed had fallen in the interval between the two plays. A parallel is provided by the Danaid trilogy, where, it is assumed, a battle took place in the interval between the *Supplices* and the *Aigyptioi* and the Argive king Pelasgos was killed.[12] The murder of Aegyptus' sons by their brides will similarly have been accomplished between the second play, the *Aigyptioi*, and the third, the *Danaides*.[13]

The scene of action in the *Phryges* was the same as in the *Myrmidones*, Achilles' cabin, but this time the chorus consisted of 'Phrygians', that is, Trojans accompanying Priam (in contrast to the Homeric account where he went with a single herald). They did not enter at the very beginning: first came a prologue in which Hermes

[12] A. F. Garvie, *Aeschylus' Supplices: Play and Trilogy* (Cambridge 1969), 197 f., 203; H. Friis Johansen and E. W. Whittle, *Aeschylus. The Suppliants* (Copenhagen 1980), i. 50; R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *Studies in Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1983), 57, 61 f.; West (as n. 5), 169.

[13] Garvie (as n. 12), 196 f.; Johansen–Whittle (as n. 12), 50 f.; Winnington-Ingram (as n. 12), 57 f.; West (as n. 5), 170.

appeared and informed Achilles of the gods' decision that Hector must be given up for burial. Achilles had a short dialogue with the god, who then departed. Priam and the chorus entered. The chorus sang a parodos in many strophes, with varied dance movements designed to characterize them as barbarians.[14] Achilles meanwhile sat veiled and silent. l[342] After the choral songs Priam addressed him. It may be conjectured that the chorus supported his appeal with short, interposed strophes, symmetrically arranged, in that form characteristic of Aeschylus' earlier plays, the epirrhematic syzygy.[15] Achilles still declined to speak. But in the end—perhaps after a stasimon—he must have answered and given his consent to accept the ransom and release Hector. After a further choral song (I would suppose) the body was brought on to the stage, if it had not been lying there in view from the start, and also a large pair of scales, for in Aeschylus' version (inspired by *Il.* 22. 351) Priam had to pay out his son's weight in gold. The weighing out of the gold until it balanced the body invested the climactic scene of the play with a rare splendour. It is obvious what must have formed the final scene: the departure of the funeral procession, accompanying itself with lyric lamentations.[16] s2

If the *Phryges* was the second play, how did the trilogy continue? What could follow? The action of the *Iliad* is completed, apart from the return of Hector's body to Troy and his funeral; but not the story of Achilles. One great tragic event is still to come: the death of the hero, narrated in the *Aethiopis* but already casting its shadow over the *Iliad.* This was, surely, the natural conclusion for Aeschylus' *Achilleis.* We know that he wrote a play on the subject, for there is a fragment, unfortunately quoted without a title, in which Thetis laments her son's death (F 350). We may suppose it to come from the *Nereides.*[17] Already in the *Aethiopis* the Nereids had come out of the sea with

[14] Cf. Ar. fr. 696, (Aeschylus speaking) τοῖσι χοροῖς αὐτὸς τὰ σχήματ' ἐποίουν ... (Interlocutor) τοὺς Φρύγας οἶδα θεωρῶν, | ὅτε τῶι Πριάμωι συλλυσόμενοι τὸν παῖδ' ἦλθον τεθνεῶτα, | πολλὰ τοιαυτὶ καὶ τοιαυτὶ καὶ δεῦρο σχηματίσαντας; W. Kranz, *Stasimon* (Berlin 1933), 147.

[15] Cf. West (as n. 5), 14 f.

[16] Besides the Greek fragments and testimonia, cf. those of the *Hectoris Lutra* of Ennius (Ribbeck [as n. 10], i. 37–40; *Trag.* 156 ff. Vahlen, 149 ff. Jocelyn); also Wilamowitz (as n. 10), 245–6; Schadewaldt (as n. 10), 61–8; Taplin, *Stagecraft,* 430.

[17] Welcker (as n. 6), 436 f., already guessed that the *Nereides* dealt with the death of Achilles, and he attributed F 350 to this play, which, however, he put in the Memnon trilogy.

Thetis to lament Achilles.[18] So it was a natural idea to introduce a chorus of Nereids in a play dealing with his death.

From one of the few fragments quoted from this play (F 150) we learn that the Nereids made an anapaestic entry. As to the rest of the action, it may be reconstructed with some plausibility following the structural principles characteristic of Aeschylean tragedy. Thetis arrived with the other Nereids, as their leader and also as the first speaking character after the parodos, just like Danaos in the *Supplices*.[19] Achilles was of course still alive. The setting was again at his cabin, as in the two preceding plays. In the first scene Thetis will have spoken to him and warned him of his imminent death.[20] But he will have been just as willing to embrace it, just as set on his course, as Eteocles in the *Septem*. Following this dialogue he must have gone off to fight his last battle. That brought the scene to an end, and the Nereids sang in sorrowful foreboding, perhaps in amoebaean lyrics with Thetis. Then came the news that confirmed what everyone was expecting. More lamentations were sung, after which the body was brought back, probably by Ajax, to whom the tradition assigned this important role. He must have related the course of the battle, not omitting to report or at least surmise Apollo's involvement;[21] Thetis names Apollo as the god who has killed her son (F 350. 8).

|[343] Aeschylus could end a tragedy simply with sung laments. But in this case the *Aethiopis* supplied him with something more exalted, a sublime conclusion to the story of Achilles. Thetis had carried the body away to the White Island, an abode of the Blessed. That Achilles lived there or in Elysium was a widespread notion in Aeschylus' time.[22] For a poet who must often have sung the skolion

φίλταθ' Ἁρμόδι', οὔ τί πω τέθνηκας,
νήσοις δ' ἐν μακάρων σέ φασιν εἶναι,
ἵνα περ ποδώκης Ἀχιλεύς

[18] Proclus; cf. *Od.* 24. 47, 58 f.; Quint. Smyrn. 3. 582 ff. See further C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, iii (Berlin 1923–6), 1193.

[19] For the typology cf. West (as n. 5), 13 f.

[20] Cf. Proclus' summary of the *Aethiopis*, καὶ Θέτις τῷι παιδὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μέμνονα προλέγει.

[21] Cf. Proclus, τρεψάμενος δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεισπεσὼν ὑπὸ Πάριδος ἀναιρεῖται καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος; Apollod. epit. 5. 3 διώξας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Τρῶας πρὸς ταῖς Σκαιαῖς πύλαις τοξεύεται ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος εἰς τὸ σφυρόν.

[22] Cf. Robert (as n. 18), 1194 f.; H. Hommel, *Der Gott Achilleus* (*Sitzb. d. Heidelb. Akad.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1980. 1), 13, 18.

(*PMG* 894), the happy ending was the obvious option. The mother took her son's body into her care,[23] while her sisters returned to their watery abode.

We have traced the outlines of a perhaps rather monochrome but genuinely Aeschylean trilogy. (A satyr play cannot be identified.) It was an early work, if its influence is rightly seen in the vase paintings with the veiled Achilles, which begin, as mentioned above, about 490 or not long after. It is in accord with an early dating that these plays, so far as can be seen, required neither a *skene* (Achilles was in his cabin yet on stage, he did not have to come out of a door) nor more than two actors.[24] The *Phryges* must have been staged again in the later fifth century, as Aristophanes can assume that people have seen the Phrygians' dances.[25] In at least four plays, starting with the *Peace*, he also alludes to the *Myrmidones*.[26] So the whole trilogy may have been performed not long before. Euphorion or his brother had perhaps arranged a revival.

THE MEMNON PLAYS

We have two titles of Aeschylean plays concerned with Memnon: *Memnon* and *Psychostasia*. Some older scholars (Butler, Welcker, Nitzsch) thought they might be the same play, but there is no reason to suppose so. As Hermann pointed out, they are listed separately in the transmitted catalogue of Aeschylus' dramas.[27]

About the first we have not much information. According to Aristophanes Aeschylus frightened his audiences *Κύκνους ποιῶν καὶ Μέμνονας κωδωνοφαλαροπώλους*; so they had seen a Memnon who entered the theatre in his chariot, wearing imposing armour.[28] In the epic *Aethiopis* he had worn a panoply made by Hephaestus, and Aeschylus wanted to do justice to this. But was

[23] F 153 *λεπτὸς δὲ σινδὼν ἀμφιβαλλέσθω χροΐ*, an instruction to wrap a body up in a fine cloth, probably stood in this context.

[24] The pleaders in the *Myrmidones* may have appeared successively rather than together.

[25] Fr. 696, quoted in n. 14.

[26] Ar. *Pax* 1177; *Av.* 800, 807, 1256?; *Ran.* 911–15, 932, 992, 1041, 1264–77; *Eccl.* 932 f.

[27] Hermann, *Opusc.* vii (Leipzig 1839), 345.

[28] Ar. *Ran.* 963; Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 43, 422.

Aristophanes thinking of the *Memnon* or the *Psychostasia*? Memnon certainly appeared in both. If we accept the usual assumption that they belonged together in one trilogy, we can infer that the *Psychostasia*, which dealt with the Ethiopian hero's death, came after the *Memnon*. It was presumably his initial appearance in the prior play that made such a great I[344] impression on the spectators. It may even have determined the title by which the play was known.

What was the subject of the *Memnon*, if his defeat by Achilles was reserved for the *Psychostasia*? Hermann and Wilamowitz supposed, not unreasonably, that it portrayed his temporary success before he encountered Achilles, success that culminated in his killing of Antilochus when the young man came to the rescue of his father Nestor.[29] This offstage event may indeed have formed the climax of the drama. However, the dialogue of the earlier scenes must have had other springs. At least one important episode, if I am not mistaken, was concerned with the exotic warrior's arrival at Troy and his identification as a kinsman of Priam. We seem to have a remnant of it in F 300 (fab. inc.):

> *γένος μὲν αἰνεῖν ἐκμαθὼν ἐπίσταμαι*
> *Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, Νεῖλος ἔνθ' ἑπτάρροος*
> *†γαῖαν κυλίνδει πνευμάτων ἐπομβρίαι†,*
> *ἐν ἧι πυρωπὸν †μηνὸς† ἐκλάμψας χθόνα*
> *τήκει πεταίαν χιόνα, πᾶσα δ' εὐθαλὴς*
> *Αἴγυπτος ἀγνοῦ νάματος πληρουμένη*
> *φερέσβιον Δήμητρος ἀντέλλει στάχυν.*

The speaker, probably Priam himself, is interrogating the newcomer and has learned that he is a native of Ethiopia; he finds no fault with that, but awaits further clarification. Memnon will have gone on to explain that he was the son of Tithonus, whom Eos had carried off from Troy to her radiant East, and thus the nephew of Priam. There is a striking parallel with Danaos' return from Egypt to Argos, the land of his ancestress Io, and the questioning of his dusky daughters by Pelasgos (*Supp.* 234 ff.). The Egyptian geography and meteorology in the fragment make a further link with that play (cf. *Supp.* 559–61).

[29] Hermann, *Opusc.* vii. 347; Wilamowitz (as n. 10), 59 n. 1, 'Notwendig gehört zu der Psychostasie der Memnon, und dem Tode des Helden mußte sein erfolgreiches Eingreifen in den Kampf vorhergehen, vielleicht der Tod des Antilochos.' For the Antilochus episode cf. *Od.* 4. 187 f.; Pind. *Pyth.* 6. 28 ff.; Robert (as n. 18), 1181. A number of vase paintings show Achilles and Memnon fighting over Antilochus' body.

Aeschylus, then, represented Memnon as arriving at Troy of his own accord, not in response to an appeal from Priam as in some later versions.[30] He came, apparently, not direct from Ethiopia but from Susa, where he had established his kingdom.[31] 'So war die Handlung zugleich ein mythisches Spiegelbild der Schlacht von Marathon.'[32]

There is no question about the authenticity of this play. Chariot entries were especially characteristic of Aeschylus.[33] If Bergk was right in assigning to the *Memnon* the verse κυρεῖν παρασχὼν ἱταμαῖς κυσὶν ἀεροφοίτοις quoted in the *Frogs* (1291), which the scholiast wrongly attributes to the *Agamemnon*, then the play contained a choral song in genuinely Aeschylean metre.[34] The interrogation scene shows a l[345] particular affinity with the *Supplices*. The testimony of Pollux (4. 110) that in one scene of the *Memnon* there was a brief intervention from a fourth speaking actor does not argue against Aeschylean authorship, because the same thing happens in the *Choephoroi* (900–2).

The *Psychostasia* had its title from the striking scene in which the Homeric motif of Zeus weighing the destinies of two warriors against one another was transferred to the stage. It is nearly certain that the motif was already used in the *Aethiopis* for Achilles and Memnon. We know that Memnon's mother Eos played a part there: she pleaded with Zeus and obtained immortality for her son. And pre-Aeschylean vase-painters show the weighing of Achilles' and Memnon's souls, usually with Hermes holding the scales;[35] perhaps he held them for Zeus in the *Aethiopis*.

In the play Zeus must have appeared in person, a very exceptional thing in Greek drama. He stood or sat up on high, on the

[30] Ctesias *FGrHist* 688 F 1 pp. 441 f. Jac. (Diod. 2. 22. 2), echoed by Pl. *Leg.* 685c, Cephalion *FGrHist* 93 F 1 p. 441 Jac. In Quint. Smyrn. 2. 27 ff. Priam announces to the Trojans that he sent for Memnon some time ago, so that he cannot now be far away; a page or so later he arrives. Although this copies a tragic technique of preparing for a new entry (see Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 137 f.), we cannot argue from it to Aeschylus' *Memnon*.

[31] F 405; cf. Paus. 10. 31. 7; Robert (as n. 18), 1183 n. 3.

[32] Robert (as n. 18), 1183.

[33] Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 76.

[34] Ar. *Ran.* 1291 = Aesch. F 282; metre ia ∫ 4da$_{\wedge}$, like *Ag.* 108/9 (= Ar. *Ran.* 1284/5), 116. For the corruption of Μέμνων (as play title) to Ἀγαμέμνων cf. Poll. 4. 110 (ἐν Μέμνονι, v.l. ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι), and the sources for each of Radt's fragments *127–*130.

[35] Robert (as n. 6), 143–6; L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 3 (Boston 1963), 44–6; *LIMC* s.vv. Ker and Memnon.

θεολογεῖον,[36] and used his scales to determine the fates of the two heroes. Scholia on the *Iliad* tell us that the δύο κῆρε of the Homeric weighing scenes were interpreted by Aeschylus as ψυχαί.[37] In the vase paintings they are portrayed as tiny, naked figures, either winged or accoutred as warriors with helmet, shield, and spear; in the play they were presumably represented by small boys. The two heroes' divine mothers, Thetis and Eos, stood on either side and each begged Zeus to spare her son. The heavier child stepped into Memnon's scalepan, the lighter into Achilles', and Memnon's went down, dooming him to death.

Plutarch says that Aeschylus made an entire tragedy out of this, but it is hard to believe that the whole play consisted of this one scene. No doubt it was just a 'Vorspiel auf dem Olymp',[38] and the entry of the chorus followed. Welcker conjectured that the chorus consisted of nymphs, half of them on Thetis' side (Nereids), half on Eos' (Horai).[39] More likely they were mortals, as the remaining action of the play must have centred upon the terrestrial battle. As Welcker himself noted, the battle could stand without the scene on Olympus, but not *vice versa*.[40] One may guess that it was a chorus of Trojans.[41]

When they entered, of course, they did not know how the gods had decided the issue. In the first episode Memnon will have appeared and, ignoring prudent advice, declared his intention of fighting Achilles. After his exit the chorus must have sung in anxious anticipation. Then came someone to report on the course of the battle. Following a choral lament, Memnon's body was borne in on a bier, perhaps by a secondary chorus of his own Ethiopian or Kissian troops. At any rate it is certain that the body was brought on to the stage.[42] For the play had a spectacular closing scene which formed a pendant to the divine prologue. Eos, having persuaded Zeus to grant her son immortality (*Aethiopis*), hoisted him up from the earth with the theatre crane and bore him away. She was evidently still, or again, on the θεολογεῖον, as in the prologue.

[36] Pollux 4. 130.

[37] Sch. *Il.* 8. 70, 22. 210; the texts are collected and set out by Radt in *TrGF* iii. 375.

[38] Wilamowitz (as n. 10), 58 f.

[39] Welcker (as n. 6), 435. In Quint. Smyrn. 2. 593 ff. Eos is accompanied by twelve Horai when she comes down from heaven to lament Memnon.

[40] Welcker (as n. 6), 434, 'den Kampf konnte man ohne die Scene der Höhe darstellen . . . aber nicht umgekehrt die Psychostasie ohne den Kampf'.

[41] Cf. Wilamowitz (as n. 10), 59.

[42] Hermann, *Opusc.* vii. 354.

I[346] It has sometimes been supposed that this scene stood not in the *Psychostasia* but in the *Memnon*. But our source, Pollux (4. 130), cites as an example of the use of the θεολογεῖον the appearance of Zeus and other gods in the *Psychostasia*, and straight afterwards, for the use of the crane, he cites Eos' raising of Memnon's body. He evidently associates the two scenes. In any case the weighing of souls, the death of Memnon, and the translation of his body belong together as three phases of the same action. We may reasonably assume that they formed parts of the same tragedy.

From a dramaturgical point of view this was a remarkable play. Because of its use of the θεολογεῖον and of three actors (Zeus, Thetis, Eos), Wilamowitz dated it to Aeschylus' last years.[43] Taplin goes a step further.[44] He regards the testimonia about the *Psychostasia* as altogether problematic. He points out that the appearance of Zeus in person breaks a rule that otherwise holds for Greek tragedy without exception.[45] He argues convincingly that neither the θεολογεῖον nor the crane was in use during Aeschylus' lifetime. He concludes that Pollux must be describing a Hellenistic production of Aeschylus' play in which spectacular new stage effects were employed, or a late 'extravaganza' modelled on Aeschylus.

I draw a simpler conclusion: the poet of the *Psychostasia*, or at least of its opening and closing scenes, was not Aeschylus but his son Euphorion, the poet of the Prometheus plays. The scenes in question diverge from Aeschylean stage technique in the same direction as the *Prometheus Desmotes* and *Lyomenos*, whose author shows a similar taste for the use of divine characters, and exploits as no one else does the technical resources of the post-Aeschylean theatre, making a whole chorus enter flying and exit sinking into the earth, letting Oceanus ride through the air on a griffin, and so on. Wilamowitz actually remarked of the crane in the *Psychostasia*, 'the contrivance was of the same sort as Oceanus' bird'.[46] The comparison is all the more significant in that Wilamowitz never took the objections to the

[43] Wilamowitz (as n. 10), 246. [44] *Stagecraft*, 431–3.

[45] There is some likelihood that in the *Prometheus Lyomenos* Thetis appeared in flight from Zeus (A. D. Fitton-Brown, *JHS* 79 (1959), 57; M. L. West, *JHS* 99 (1979), 144 [=below, p. 276]). But that does not mean that Zeus himself arrived on stage. Hermes may have come on his behalf, as in the *Desmotes*.

[46] Wilamowitz (as n. 10), 246 n. 0, 'die Maschine war gleicher Art wie der Vogel des Okeanos'.

authenticity of the *Prometheus* seriously. He might also have referred to another use of the crane in the *Prometheus Lyomenos* (F 200), where the eagle that tormented Prometheus each day flew in and was shot down by Heracles.

The structure of the *Psychostasia*'s prologue points in the same direction. So far as we can see, genuine Aeschylean prologues fall into two categories: they consist either of a monologue by a servant or functionary who makes no further appearance in the play, or of a dialogue between two persons who do play a part later and who are making plans for the subsequent action.[47] In the *Psychostasia* prologue, on the other hand, there were three agents present, all of them gods; two of them represented opposing viewpoints and tried to persuade the third, who then made his decision. This does not fit at all into the Aeschylean typology, but is much more like the prologue of the *Prometheus Desmotes*, where three speaking actors appear together, and a κωφὸν πρόσωπον besides, all four of them gods: two of them dispute about Prometheus' punishment, Hephaestus being sympathetic towards him, Kratos not, but both of them compelled to accept Zeus' command. The third actor, Prometheus, speaks only at l[347] the end of the prologue; perhaps it was similar in the *Psychostasia*, if Zeus pronounced his verdict only after the appeals of Thetis and Eos.[48]

The *Memnon*'s links with the *Supplices* and *Oresteia*, noted above, and its use of three speaking actors and momentarily even a fourth, points to its being a work of Aeschylus' last years. Now we find that its companion piece, the *Psychostasia*, was composed at least partly by his son. The integrity of the putative Aeschylean trilogy[49] is compromised. Did Aeschylus write more than the one play? He must at least have intended to: a play about Memnon at Troy in which he was not killed called for a sequel in which he was.[50] Perhaps he failed to complete a trilogy but did leave a finished play about the death of Memnon, to which his son added the divine prologue with the weighing scene and the final scene with the removal of the body by lifting gear.

[47] West (as n. 5), 7 f., cf. 54.

[48] We can hardly suppose that he held up his scales without saying a word.

[49] Or dilogy, as suggested by Wilamowitz (as n. 10), 59 n. 1; *Griechische Tragödien*, iv (Berlin 1923), 314 n. 2.

[50] The belief that he was not killed in the *Memnon* rests on the premise that the play was at some time produced together with the *Psychostasia*. But no one doubts this.

THE *EUROPA*

If Aeschylus never wrote a third play, it is pointless to speculate on what it would have been about. It may be more fruitful to try to identify the play that Euphorion put before or after the two Memnon dramas to make up a trilogy.

The likeliest candidate in my view is the *Europa*, alternatively known as *Kares*.[51] It dealt with the death of Sarpedon and his funeral in Lycia or Caria. Both events are related in the *Iliad* and belong chronologically before Memnon's arrival at Troy. So if the *Europa* had a place in the trilogy presented by Euphorion, it would have been the first play.

Hartung in 1855 divined that its subject was Europa's concern for her son Sarpedon and his death at Troy.[52] This was confirmed to everyone's satisfaction in 1879, when Weil published a papyrus from the early second century BCE containing 23 lines of a tragic speech by Europa, evidently from the prologue of the play. It is wildly corrupt, but the structure and general sense can be made out. Here is a text based (with several modifications) on Radt's and Diggle's:[53]

ταύρωι τε λειμῶ ξένια †παμποδος παραν†.
τοιόνδε μὲν Ζεὺς κλέμμα πρεσβύτου πατρός
αὐτὸς μένων ἄμοχθος ἤνυσεν λαβεῖν.
|[348] τί οὖν; τὰ πολλὰ κεῖνα διὰ παύρων λέγω.
γυνὴ θεῶι μειχθεῖσα παρθένου σέβας 5

[51] Already proposed as the first play of the Memnon trilogy by W. Schmid, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* I. ii. 189 n. 0, followed by H. J. Mette, *Der verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin 1963), 108 ff.; A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *Dramen des Aischylos auf westgriechischen Vasen* (Mainz 1978), 74; *contra*, T. Gantz, *CJ* 74 (1979), 303 n. 82. An anonymous referee draws my attention to the coupling of Memnon and Sarpedon as objects of the gods' grief in Ar. *Nub.* 622: 'evidence that Athenians had fairly recently had cause to think of these two heroes and to link them together?'

[52] J. A. Hartung, *Aeschylos' Fragmente* (*Aeschylos' Werke*, viii, Leipzig 1855), 95 f.

[53] P. Didot (Louvre inv. 7172) col. iv 10–v 9; F **99 Radt; J. Diggle, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Oxford 1998), 16 f. I must refer to their apparatuses for most details of what the papyrus gives in each place and who made sense out of it. Line 1 is the conclusion of a sentence in which the subject seems to have been Europa's father, Phoenix. I interpret the transmitted λιμω as an 'Attic' accusative (λειμὼν Weil); for the end of the line, e.g. πάμβοτον (-ος Weil) πορών (Platt) would do. In 3 I write αὐτός for -του; in 7 and 9 I follow Weil, except in putting γονῆσι rather than -αῖσι (γωνεις pap.); in 10 I adopt Bergk's φιτυμάτων for the papyrus' ψυδευματων, and in 17 an *exempli gratia* supplement by Barrett. In 11 I would favour *Μίνω*<ν>; at *Cho.* 618 *Μίνω* is the genitive.

ἥμειψα, παίδων δ' ἐζύγην ξυνάονι.
καὶ τρισὶ γονῆσι τοὺς γυναικείους πόνους
ἐκαρτέρησ' ἄρουρα, κοὐκ ἐμέμψατο
τὸ μὴ 'ξενεγκεῖν σπέρμα γεν<ν>αί<ου> πατρός.
ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων δ' ἠρξάμην φιτυμάτων
Μίνω τεκοῦσα <
<
<τὸν δεύτερον δὲ
Ῥαδάμανθυν, ὅσπερ ἄφθιτος παίδων ἐμῶν,
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν αὐγαῖς ταῖς ἐμαῖς ζῴας ἔχει·
τὸ μὴ παρὸν δὲ τέρψιν οὐκ ἔχει φίλοις·
τρίτον δέ, τοῦ νῦν φροντίσιν χειμάζομαι,
Σαρπηδόν', αἰχμὴ μὴ 'ξ Ἄρεως καθίκετο.
κλέο<ς> γὰρ ἥκειν <Ἀσιάδ' εἰς πολύσπορον
ἄνδρας δορυσσοῦς, Ἑλλάδος> λωτίσματα
πάσης, ὑπερφέροντας ἀλκίμωι σθένει,
αὐχεῖν δὲ Τρώων ἄστυ πορθήσειν βίαι·
πρὸς οὕς δέδοικα μή τι μαργαίνων δορὶ
ἀνυπέρβατον δράσηι τε καὶ πάθηι κακόν.
λεπτὴ γὰρ ἐλπίς, ἠδ' ἐπὶ ξυροῦ μένει
μὴ πάντα παίσασ' ἐκχέω πρὸς ἔρματι.

A paraphrase will suffice. Europa relates how she lay with Zeus and gave birth to three sons: Minos, who is already dead and has a position of honour in Hades; Rhadamanthys, who is immortal but lives in a remote place (*sc.* the Isles of the Blest), so that she no longer has any contact with him; and Sarpedon, who has gone to Troy to fight against the Greek aggressors. She is worried about him: has he perhaps been struck by a spear?

The scene is evidently far from Troy. This being so, the Carian chorus suggests a Carian location; there was at least a mention of Mylasa, the Carian capital (F 101).[54] Europa's anxiety might have

[54] One might have expected that it would be Lycia, as that is where Sleep and Death take Sarpedon's body in the *Iliad* (16. 454–7, 671–5, 681–3), and where his kinsmen bury him. But Strabo (14. 3. 3) writes that tragedians mixed up the names of peoples, for example calling the Lycians Carians: οἱ ποιηταὶ δέ, μάλιστα οἱ τραγικοί, συγχέοντες τὰ ἔθνη, καθάπερ τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς "Φρύγας" προσαγορεύουσιν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Λυκίους "Κᾶρας". He must have in view a tragedy which spoke of 'Carians' where he thought they should be called Lycians. The obvious candidate is the *Kares*, which dealt with the death of the Lycian Sarpedon. The mention of Mylasa, however, implies that the poet was not applying the name 'Carian' to Lycians but actually locating Sarpedon's home in Caria. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie* (Berlin 1907), 108 n. 65; E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii (Berlin 1956), 76.

been occasioned simply by the fact that her third and last son was now in a place of danger, or she might, as Hartung suggested, have been alarmed by prophecies or dreams, like the Queen in the *Persai*.

It is clear what must have followed. News arrived: initially, perhaps, that Sarpedon had been fighting courageously and with success. But then the word came that he had fallen to Patroclus. The messenger might have described the miracle that we know from the *Iliad*, that Zeus in grief for his son shed drops of blood from the sky. Europa and the Carians broke out in lamentation. Europa may have found it particularly bitter that after losing two sons she would now not even see the body of the third. But then—a *coup de théâtre*: two winged figures appeared, Sleep and Death, bearing the dead hero home. That must have been the climax of the play. It remained to make arrangements |[349] for burial, and perhaps for the erection of the tumulus and stele mentioned in the *Iliad*.[55]

From one point of view the play, so reconstructed, has a genuinely Aeschylean stamp. Just as in the *Persai*, an Asiatic king has gone to war; his mother shares her forebodings with the elders of the kingdom; news comes to confirm her fears; there is lamentation; finally the hero returns, dead or, if not dead, devastated. But we cannot put too much weight on this general similarity in the face of other considerations which speak against Aeschylean authorship. Europa's speech in the papyrus looks more like a prologue of Sophocles or Euripides, in which someone recounts his or her history and genealogy and then explains the actual situation by saying, 'But now I am anxious on account of . . .', or 'But at this moment I am waiting for . . .'. The prologue of the *Trachiniai* is altogether similar.[56] In any case the style does not read much like Aeschylus. Weil, who had a fine sense of Greek, had his doubts about it, while recognizing how well the subject matter suited the *Europa*; so did Herwerden and Cobet.

Two of the 23 trimeters of the fragment begin with an anapaest; in

[55] Hartung (as n. 52; before the publication of the papyrus, be it remembered) reconstructed the plot in almost precisely similar terms: 'Dann wird ein Bote angekommen sein, welcher den Tod des Helden meldete, und zuletzt werden seine irdischen Reste in der Weise angelangt sein wie deren Heimschaffung bei Homer Il. ζ′ [read π′], 667–683 beschrieben ist. Die übrige Tragödie nun mußte die Todtenklage enthalten.'

[56] Cf. also Eur. *Or.* 67–70.

one case it is a proper name, in the other it is not.[57] This is not significant in statistical terms, but it is to be remarked that the first-foot anapaest is a particular feature of the Prometheus poet.[58] There are twelve instances in the *Prometheus Desmotes* (not counting proper names), whereas the much longer *Agamemnon* has only seven, and the other five preserved plays only nine in all.

There are also some linguistic points of contact with the *Prometheus.* In speaking of her anxiety about Sarpedon Europa uses the phrase φροντίσιν χειμάζομαι, literally 'I am storm-tossed by cares'. The verb χειμάζω occurs twice in the *Prometheus Desmotes*—there too in the middle voice, of emotional turmoil—but not at all in the genuine Aeschylus.[59] At line 5 of the fragment, παρθένου σέβας | ἤμειψα recalls *Prom.* 23 χροιᾶς ἀμείψεις ἄνθος; at line 8, κοὐκ ἐμέμψατο | τὸ μὴ 'ξενεγκεῖν recalls *Prom.* 235 ἐξελυσάμην βροτούς, | τὸ μὴ διαρραισθέντας εἰς Ἅιδου μολεῖν and 865 θέλξει τὸ μὴ | κτεῖναι ξύνευνον; at line 23, παίσασα . . . πρὸς ἕρματι recalls *Prom.* 885 παίουσ' εἰκῆι στυγνῆς πρὸς κύμασιν ἄτης. These are of course not proofs, merely pointers, but what they point towards is a connection with the Prometheus poet, Euphorion.

A feature of this poet evident from the *Prometheus* is what may fairly be called his book learning. I have previously characterized him as 'something of a polymath, with an interest in mythology of the synoptic kind as represented by Hesiodic poetry and the logographers and in geography, ethnography, and the history of culture'.[60] When I[350] he places Heracles in the thirteenth generation from Io (*Prom.* 774), this shows not the ordinary educated man's knowledge of myth but a studious use of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue,* where the genealogies, once reduced to a table, yielded just that number.[61] And when Homer's Sarpedon is presented as the

[57] F 99. 12 Ῥαδάμανθυν, 21 ἀνυπέρβατον (a convincing correction of the papyrus' nonsensical αστυβερβαρτον).

[58] M. Griffith, *The Authenticity of Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge 1977), 77 f.

[59] *Prom.* 562–3 τίνα φῶ λεύσσειν τόνδε χαλινοῖς ἐν πετρίνοισιν χειμαζόμενον; 838 ἀφ' οὗ παλιμπλάγκτοισι χειμάζηι δρόμοις.

[60] *JHS* 99 (1979), 146 f. [=below, p. 282–4], where I listed the authors he appears to have been acquainted with: Hesiod, Aristeas, 'Eumelus', Acusilaus, Aeschylus, Pindar, Protagoras, Pherecydes of Athens, Sophocles; add Herodotus (R. Bees, *Zur Datierung des Prometheus Desmotes* (Stuttgart 1993), 133–241).

[61] Io, Epaphos, Libye, Belos, Aigyptos, Lynceus, Abas, Acrisius, Danae, Perseus, Alcaeus, Amphitryon, Heracles.

brother of Minos and Rhadamanthys and the son of Europa, the construction comes from the same source.[62]

One scene assumed for the *Europa* strengthens the connection further: the arrival of Sleep and Death, flying through the air and bringing Sarpedon's body from Troy. Material evidence for such a scene comes in the form of an Apulian bell crater of the early fourth century. It shows the aerial party descending towards a lady, evidently a person of consequence, who sits in an aedicula dressed in theatrical Asiatic costume, while a couple of underlings (a vestigial chorus) gesticulate in surprise or alarm. The lady is convincingly identified as the Europa of our play.[63] Even without the vase, we should be justified in postulating the scene, because (*a*) we cannot envisage a play about Sarpedon's death, set in his homeland, where his body was not brought back to serve as the focus of lamentation; (*b*) as its conveyance to his homeland was the subject of special attention in the *Iliad*, we cannot envisage its being effected by any other means than those described in the epic; and (*c*) we cannot suppose that the divine figures of Sleep and Death came walking up one of the *eisodoi* like any mortal character. A dramatist who did not have the *mechane* at his disposal would not have attempted to represent the event at all. As it is, the epiphany was evidently designed as the crowning effect of the whole play, which indeed may have been written chiefly for the sake of it. It is the same bold use of the crane as for the Oceanids and for their father in the *Prometheus Desmotes*,[64] for the eagle in the *Lyomenos*, and for the translation of Memnon's body in the *Psychostasia*. In all these cases we surely have to do with one and the same poet: Euphorion.

My hypothesis is that he completed his father's unfinished Memnon trilogy by composing a *Europa* to go before the *Memnon* and a *Psychostasia* to go after it, or, if Aeschylus had left a play on the death of Memnon, Euphorion added divine scenes fore and aft to make it into a *Psychostasia*. The subject of the *Europa* was not closely connected with that of the Memnon plays, but it sat well enough with them: it too dealt with an Asiatic hero killed at Troy, lamented by his divine mother, and in the end vouchsafed an exalted destiny.

[62] 'Hes.' fr. 140–1.

[63] New York, Metropolitan Museum 16.140; Kossatz-Deissmann (as n. 51), 66–74.

[64] For the Oceanids, however, I continue to believe that several cranes must have been used. My arguments in *JHS* 99 (1979), 136f. [=below, pp. 262–5], have been dismissed in offhand fashion but not answered.

There was a sort of zany symmetry in a trilogy where the crane lowered a corpse from the sky in the first play and drew one up into the sky in the third. Aeschylus with his *Myrmidones*, *Phryges*, and *Nereides* had selected three episodes from the *Iliad* and *Aethiopis* that showed Achilles' progression from μῆνις to wild grief, reconciliation and rehumanization, resignation and death. The Sarpedon–Memnon trilogy as completed by Euphorion (whatever Aeschylus had intended to do with it) might be seen as a complementary construct, covering roughly the same time-span but from the barbarian side.

AESCHYLUS AND SON

Aeschylus has constantly been represented as a poet notable for his grand and impressive visual effects. This view of him, which goes back to the ancient Vita, is l[351] exaggerated, as Taplin has shown.[65] It is based partly on the *Prometheus Desmotes*, which today can no longer be regarded as Aeschylus' work; partly on Hellenistic stagings, in which novel effects may have been introduced; partly just on the over-imaginative reconstructions of modern scholars. Now, by distinguishing more clearly between Aeschylus and Euphorion, we are able to define more accurately their respective tastes for the spectacular.

With Aeschylus it remained on a human level. He liked to bring aliens on to the stage or the orchestra: Persians, Egyptians, Phrygians, with barbarian costumes and sometimes barbarian vociferations and dance movements. His kings and queens could make grand entries with horses and chariots. Human pride and human shame were given visual expression through stage properties: Xerxes' torn robe, the purple fabrics trodden by Agamemnon, the old bloodstained bathrobe that Orestes displays in the *Choephoroi*, the heap of gold weighed against Hector's body in the *Phryges*. Even when the action moved into the realm of the superhuman, as with the ghost of Darius, the Erinyes, or the Phorkides, similar means were used: impressive garments and gestures.

Euphorion, on the other hand, staged spectacles of a quite different order: the flying chorus of Oceanides; Oceanus riding on his griffin; Prometheus cast down into Tartarus; the eagle flying

[65] *Stagecraft*, 39–49.

down to gnaw at his liver; the two brothers Sleep and Death bearing Sarpedon's body through the air from Troy; Zeus weighing heroes' lives against one another on his heavenly scales; Memnon transported to heaven. This is all of the same stamp, all sprung from one brain. In Aeschylus' time these things were not yet possible; the theatre had not developed the technical means. But a crane capable of carrying an actor on the back of a (wooden) animal was in use by 425 at latest, when Aristophanes alluded in the *Acharnians* to Euripides' *Bellerophon*. In 431 (the year when Euphorion won first prize) Medea had flown off in a snake-drawn chariot. We first see the crane in use, then, in the very years of Euphorion's activity in the theatre.

The recognition that the *Europa* and at least the celestial scenes of the *Psychostasia* are to be ascribed to this man opens the way to a truer assessment of the great Aeschylus' art. At the same time Euphorion emerges a little way from his father's shadow: a lesser poet, certainly, but an individual and ambitious talent, who wanted on the one hand to appropriate and exploit his father's legacy, and on the other to make the fullest use of the new possibilities for representing marvellous things on the stage in astonishing ways. But such effects were not sufficient to hold the cultivated Athenian audience's interest year after year. More gifted poets like Sophocles and Euripides understood that a good tragedy needs intrinsic qualities of a kind that we miss in the *Prometheus Desmotes*: a taut structure, consistency of plot and character, dramatic tension.

APPENDIX: THE END OF THE *SEPTEM*

Most scholars are now rightly agreed that the final scene of the *Septem* as it has come down to us (1005–77), together with two earlier passages which imply the presence of Oedipus' two daughters (861–73, 996–7), is a spurious addition, made for a revival of the play sometime after the production of Sophocles' *Antigone*, which was probably in 440.[66] The *Septem* is one of the plays familiar to Aristophanes' public (*Ran.* l[352] 1021–4) and may therefore have been

[66] See G. O. Hutchinson, *Aeschylus, Septem contra Thebas* (Oxford 1985), 209–11. Hutchinson considers the interpolation to postdate the closing scene of the *Phoenissae*, but argues as if this were the only alternative to the scene in the *Septem* being genuine Aeschylus. It may be related to the scene in the *Phoenissae*, but I see no

revived sometime in the last third of the century. The question arises whether there is any reason to connect this event and the composition of the spurious passages with Euphorion.

In diction they appear inferior to what we find in the *Prometheus Desmotes*. There are nevertheless some similarities with that play. A herald appears and issues peremptory orders from Thebes' new rulers. The main character already on stage rejects them. The two argue in stichomythia. At the end, following a change into anapaests, half of the (female) chorus resolves to support Antigone in her defiance, whatever the city may do to them. This is all strikingly analogous to the closing scene of the *Prometheus*.

There are also parallels of detail:

Sept. 1031 δεινὸν τὸ κοινὸν σπλάγχνον οὗ πεφύκαμεν ≈ *Prom.* 39 τὸ ξυγγενές τοι δεινόν.

Sept. 1042 f. αὐδῶ πόλιν σε ... | — αὐδῶ σε μὴ περισσὰ ... ≈ *Prom.* 69 f. ὁρᾶις θέαμα ... | — ὁρῶ κυροῦντα ..., 971 f. χλιδᾶν ἔοικας ... | — χλιδῶ; The word περισσός occurs at *Prom.* 383 (cf. 328 περισσόφρων) but not otherwise in Aeschylus.

Sept. 1044 τραχύς γε μέντοι δῆμος ἐκφυγὼν κακά ≈ *Prom.* 35 ἅπας δὲ τραχὺς ὅστις ἂν νέον κρατῇ.

Sept. 1046 ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στυγεῖ, σὺ τιμήσεις τάφωι; ≈ *Prom.* 67 f. σὺ δ' αὖ κατοκνεῖς τῶν Διὸς τ' ἐχθρῶν ὕπερ | στένειν;

Sept. 1066 f. δράτω <τι> πόλις καὶ μὴ δράτω τοὺς κλαίοντας Πολυνείκη ≈ *Prom.* 935–9 ὃ δ' οὖν ποείτω ... δράτω, κρατείτω, 992–4 πρὸς ταῦτα ῥιπτείσθω μὲν αἰθαλοῦσσα φλόξ ... κυκάτω ... ταρασσέτω, 1043 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐπί μοι ῥιπτείσθω μὲν κτλ.

At *Sept.* 861, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤκουσ' αἵδ' ἐπὶ πρᾶγος πικρὸν Ἀντιγόνη τ' ἠδ' Ἰσμήνη, the use of ἀλλὰ (...) γάρ to draw attention to a new arrival is paralleled at *Prom.* 941 (and often in Euripides), but not in the genuine Aeschylus. The next lines, in which the chorus anticipate a lament from the sisters but say 'First, however, it is proper for us to sing our own dirge', remind me strongly of the ineptly explicit programming of who is to say what in which order in the *Prometheus* (630–4, 700–4, 782–9, 819–22).[67]

reason for assuming the priority of the latter. It is relevant that Hutchinson does not admit that Aeschylean plays were revived before 386 BCE (op. cit., p. xlii). The usual view, that there were revivals in the fifth century, has been reasserted by K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes, Frogs* (Oxford 1993), 23.

[67] Cf. West (as n. 5), 59–61.

These considerations do not add up to a compelling case for attributing the interpolations in the *Septem* to Euphorion. It is not to be forgotten that another son of Aeschylus, Euaion, was also active in the theatre. But the points of similarity between the *Septem* passages and the *Prometheus* seem to be more than fortuitous.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. Welcker and Hermann inferred from Accius that Antilochus played a part. Hermann, *Opusc.* v. 140, thought that he arrived with Phoenix; Welcker (as n. 6) has him entering later.
2. It appears from F 267 (though see Radt ad loc.) that Andromache had a role in the play. She might have arrived in the second Episode, after Achilles had remained unresponsive to Priam's entreaties in the first, so that it was hers that eventually moved him. Or she might have appeared only at the end, to join in the lamentation over Hector's body.

20

The Prometheus Trilogy

The evidence against the Aeschylean authorship of the *Prometheus* is now overwhelming; or so it appears to me, considering the question without preconception and in that hebdomad of life in which, according to Solon, περὶ πάντα καταρτύεται νόος ἀνδρός. Those who still maintain that the play is by Aeschylus may probably be divided into three categories: those who have not read Mark Griffith's recent book on the subject;[1] those who are incapable of unlearning anything they grew up believing, at any rate concerning such an important matter; and those who, while not constitutionally incapable of conversion, nor unimpressed by the evidence, yet have a rooted feeling, which they are unwilling to discount, that the play is like Aeschylus. The first group is easy to prescribe for. The second is incurable. To the third I would say that although instinct may certainly on occasion be worth a hundred arguments, its reliability as a pointer to the truth depends on its sources. When it represents a rational calculation performed by the subconscious from considerations or observations of which the conscious mind has not yet taken stock, so that upon reflection it can be put on an objective basis, well and good. There is no doubt an element of such calculation in the present case, for of course the *Prometheus* does have some Aeschylean features. (So did the early plays of Sophocles, according to himself.) But who can boast a subconscious programmed with a concept of Aeschylean drama that is not based in part on the

JHS 99 (1979), 130–48; reprinted in Michael Lloyd (ed.), *Aeschylus* (Oxford Readings in Classical Studies) (Oxford 2007), 359–96. I give here the text as edited for the Lloyd volume, but indicate the pagination only of the original article.

[1] *The Authenticity of Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge 1977). See also O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford 1977), 460–9.

Prometheus itself? It is one of the first plays of the transmitted seven that the student reads; it is one liable to make a striking impression on him, and so to contribute more than its share to his concept of Aeschylus. He reads in handbooks about Aeschylus' love of spectacle and interest in theological problems, he finds these supposed characteristics exemplified nowhere more clearly than in the *Prometheus*, and he accordingly registers these aspects of the play as peculiarly Aeschylean. On such foundations the developing scholar builds up his concept of Aeschylus, and it is little wonder if, some decades later, he is unable to fight the conviction that the *Prometheus* is profoundly Aeschylean and that Aeschylus is incomplete without the *Prometheus*. But the time has come now to face the facts; to stop pretending that they are explained if Aeschylus wrote the play in Sicily, or when he was rather ill; and to construct a new, more homogeneous picture of the Father of Tragedy.

The purpose of this article is to reconsider the old but still unresolved problems of the staging of the extant *Prometheus*, to contribute to the reconstruction of the trilogy, and to advance arguments for dating it to the year 440 or shortly after.

It is generally accepted that the other plays of the trilogy were the *Prom. Lyomenos* and *Prom. Pyrphoros*, though opinion is sharply divided (and has been for over a century) on whether the latter was the third play or the first. There are good reasons for the belief that these three plays did form a trilogy. The scholiast on *PV* 511 states that Prometheus 'is released in the following play', and on 522 that he 'is keeping what he has to say for the next play'.[2] We know enough about the *Lyomenos* to see that it continued the story of Prometheus in exactly the way foreshadowed in the *Desmotes* and in exactly the same style, with another chorus of sympathetic but ineffectual deities and with lengthy catalogues of remote peoples and places, partly in instruction of a passing wanderer from Greece. Heracles' route through the west complemented Io's through the east. Even in the few fragments quoted we observe some of those stylistic features whose frequency in the *Desmotes* sets it apart from the work of Aeschylus,[3]

[2] ἐν γὰρ τῶι ἑξῆς δράματι λύεται; τῶι ἑξῆς δράματι φυλάττει τοὺς λόγους. The suggestion that this could mean 'the next play' in some collected edition is absurd, particularly in view of the second passage. Ancient critics never refer to other plays in such a way.

[3] Initial anapaest in the trimeter (Griffith 77f.); irregular caesura in anapaests (Griffith 70f.); address with the bare proper namer (Griffith 120f.).

and some close parallels of diction. If ever two plays were composed together, these two were. We are bound to assume that there was a third.[4] Among the plays ascribed to Aeschylus, *Prom. Pyrphoros* is virtually the only l[131] candidate,[5] and its title is certainly promising. Although next to nothing is recorded of its contents, we do know that it referred to Prometheus' bondage as being for τρισμύρια ἔτη, which links it with *PV* 94 τὸν μυριέτη χρόνον ἀθλεύσω.[6] The idea is not found in any other early treatment of the Prometheus myth, and it presupposes an account which embraces both the binding and the release—that is to say, where drama is concerned, a Prometheus trilogy.

Taplin has suggested that the titles of the plays indicate that they did not belong together in a trilogy.[7] The argument runs: epicleses such as *Desmotes*, *Lyomenos*, were invented by Alexandrian scholars to distinguish between plays of the same name; the author's title would simply have been *Prometheus* in each case; but the author would not have given the same title to different plays within a trilogy. The first premise is unsound. In a number of cases, epicleses are obviously inspired by some striking *visual* feature of a particular scene: *Ajax* μαστιγοφόρος, *Hippolytus* στεφανηφόρος and καλυπτόμενος, and others. Such names will not have originated with scholars who knew the plays mainly from reading but with people who knew them as spectacles. They must have been current in the book trade long before the Alexandrians set to work. A man buying an *Ajax* needed to be sure which one it was: to be told that it was 'that one where Ajax appeared brandishing a whip' was just what he wanted. Such designations, like all book titles in the classical period, were initially informal and not exclusive. The same play might be called Φρύγες or Ἕκτορος λύτρα.[8] There is no certainty

[4] The hypothesis of a dilogy (Bernhardy, Dindorf, Bergk, Focke) cannot be supported by any solid parallel so far as the Dionysia are concerned. It would be possible at the Lenaia, when it was the custom for tragic poets to exhibit two plays, though we do not know that these were ever connected in subject. This option is not available to those who maintain that *Desm.* is by Aeschylus, as tragic performances at the Lenaia only began *c.*440.

[5] Against H. Lloyd-Jones's theory that it was the *Aitnaiai* see the just criticisms of Taplin 464 f.

[6] There is no contradiction, since these are not meant as precise numbers. Cf. 257 f., 512.

[7] *JHS* 95 (1975), 184–6.

[8] See in general E. Nachmanson, *Der griechische Buchtitel* (Darmstadt 1969).

that the plays of our trilogy were recorded in Didaskaliai under 'Prometheus' titles: they might have been designated after their choruses, as so often happened, or just collectively as *Προμηθεία τετραλογία* (cf. *TrGF* i, DID B 5. 8; C 4a. 7; C 24). The greater importance of the virtuoso actor after the fifth century perhaps encouraged the later use of protagonist-titles. But any of our plays might at any time have been referred to as a *Prometheus*, and whoever needed to distinguish between them could at any time attach the suitable epiclesis.

PROMETHEUS PYRPHOROS

The *Pyrphoros* was certainly the first play, not the third. The arguments used by Pohlenz nearly fifty years ago[9] should have been accepted as conclusive.

(i) By the end of *Ly.* Prometheus was free and wearing the crown that commemorated his bondage and was subsequently worn by men in remembrance of it. This already establishes an aition for cult practice, something we would expect to come at the end of the trilogy. Those who place *Pyrph.* last assume that it had to do with the establishment of the Attic Promethia. But this cannot have required more than a few lines at the end of a play, and could very well have been dealt with in *Ly.* It is impossible to see how a whole further play could have been filled.

(ii) If *Pyrph.* came first, it dealt with Prometheus' theft of fire. The plan of the trilogy was then Crime–Punishment–Reconciliation. This, and not Punishment–Reconciliation–(?), is surely the scheme that would naturally have occurred to the poet.

(iii) The perfect tense in sch. *PV* 94 (=fr. 208a Radt), *ἐν γὰρ τῶι Πυρφόρωι τρεῖς μυριάδας φησὶ δεδέσθαι αὐτόν*, used to be taken as an indication that *Pyrph.* came later than *Desm.* But in fr. 199 what was actually a prophecy to Heracles, *ἥξεις δὲ Λιγύων εἰς ἀτάρβητον στρατόν κτλ.*, is turned by Hyginus into *Aeschylus*

[9] *Die griechische Tragödie*, 1st ed. (Leipzig 1930), 70 ff. = 2nd ed. (Göttingen 1954), 77 f. Cf. A. D. Fitton-Brown, *JHS* 79 (1959), 53; Griffith 15 f.; T. Gargiulo, *Bollettino del Comitato* 27 (1979), 91–100.

autem in fabula quae inscribitur Prometheus Lyomenos Herculem ait . . . iter fecisse per Ligurum fines, etc. The scholiast may likewise be referring to a passage that was actually in the future tense. Indeed, this duration for the bondage could only be given at or before its beginning, since in fact Prometheus was released much sooner than Zeus anticipated, in the thirteenth human generation. Fifth-century writers were quite used to converting so many generations into so many hundred years.

It has often been argued that the fullness with which anterior events are related in *Desm.* makes it unlikely that another play preceded. But not all of these events need have fallen within the compass of *Pyrph.*; *Desm.* itself shows that the author was much given to repeating himself; and on I[132] the other hand Prometheus is not explicitly identified in the opening scene till line 66, not as early as we might expect if he had not been seen before. An audience is not normally required to deduce the identity of a character from a statement of what he has done (7 f.), an address as indistinctive as Θέμιδος αἰπυμῆτα παῖ (18), or an assessment of the general situation.

Pyrph., then, was concerned with Promctheus' theft of fire and its transmission to mankind. He carried it in a fennel-stalk,[10] and the play's epiclesis πυρφόρος, like *Ajax* μαστιγοφόρος and *Hippolytus* στεφανηφόρος, doubtless recalled a particular scene where he appeared with this property. There seems to be a reflection of it in *Birds* 1494 ff., where Prometheus appears veiled and furtive, afraid of being seen by Zeus, in a situation where no fires are burning on mortal altars (1516–18). His μισῶ δ' ἅπαντας τοὺς θεούς, ὡς οἶσθα σύ in 1547 (~ *PV* 975 ἁπλῶι λόγωι τοὺς πάντας ἐχθαίρω θεούς) confirms the allusion to the Prometheus trilogy, which had been parodied by Aristophanes earlier[11] and by Cratinus before him.[12] It is difficult to account for the *Birds* scene without the tragic model.[13]

[10] *PV* 109, after Hes. *Th.* 567, *Op.* 52; also on vases, perhaps after Aesch. *Prom. Pyrkaeus.*

[11] Griffith 11 f.; add *Ach.* 704 ~ *PV* 2.

[12] See below on *Ly.* Was any play of Aeschylus made so much use of by comedians?

[13] Certain of the things Prometheus says in it might be echoes of the trilogy: 1500 βουλυτὸς ἢ περαιτέρω (πέρα and περαιτέρω three times in *Desm.*, not otherwise in Aeschylus); 1514 ἀπόλωλεν ὁ Ζεύς (Prometheus might have said this to the Titans in *Ly.*, alluding to the disaster that awaited Zeus if he did not buy Prometheus'

Prometheus appeared with the smouldering fennel, furtively, λαθὼν Δία τερπικέραυνον (Hes., as n. 10), but visible to the chorus. Presumably he did not carry it away again to give to mankind off stage, but gave it to mankind or to some intermediary in the course of the scene. It is natural to guess that he gave it to the chorus and that a small fire was kindled on the altar in the middle of the orchestra; it may then have been covered over with ashes. Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 144 (*ignem*) *Prometheus in ferula detulit in terras hominibusque monstrauit quomodo cinere obrutum seruarent.*[14]

Were the chorus then mortal men? Perhaps, but it does say in the *Life of Aeschylus* (T 129 Radt, ἐκ τῆς Μουσικῆς Ἱστορίας) that his Prometheus plays διὰ μόνων οἰκονομοῦνται θεῶν ... τὰ γὰρ δράματα συμπληροῦσιν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἔστι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῆς ὀρχήστρας θεῖα πάντα πρόσωπα. Io at least is an exception; but a chorus of mortals would be a more flagrant one. I would suggest as a possibility that the chorus represented the tree-nymphs known as the Meliai. Hesiod said that following Prometheus' trick Zeus 'did not give fire to the μελίαι' (*Th.* 563). A scholiast explains the word as meaning men, because they were descended from the Meliai. Others may have understood it to mean the Meliai themselves, as those from whom men take fire, stored up in trees as it is (cf. my note on the passage). Our poet had Hesiod's account very much in mind, and might have had the idea of making the Meliai the intermediaries who received fire from Prometheus and from whom mankind would afterwards obtain it. If so, it becomes a little easier to understand how he came to think of making the Oceanids, nymphs of springs and groves, the chorus of the following play. The hypothesis also allows us to accommodate in *Pyrph.*, if we wish, Aesch. fr. 379 (fab. inc.),

secret); 1538 ἥπερ ταμιεύει τὸν κεραυνὸν τοῦ Διός. Zeus' thunderbolt may have been important in the trilogy as the foundation of his power, cf. *PV* 922. In *Eum.* 827 f. it is Athena who alone has access to the building where it is kept. In Pl. *Prot.* 321d it is from the house that he shares with Hephaestus that Prometheus steals fire, though in *Desm.* we only hear of Hephaestus as its owner. Plato, at least, was thinking of the Periclean Hephaesteum overlooking the agora, shared by Hephaestus and Athena.

[14] The passage goes on to relate the nailing of Prometheus to the Caucasian rock for 30,000 years, the eagle, and its dispatch by Heracles. Another account, 'Probus' on Virg. *Ec.* 6. 42, says *furem Iuppiter insequebatur, sed ille, qui non posset subterfugere, in silicem ferulam adlisit eique ignem commendauit.*

> ὑμεῖς δὲ βωμὸν τόνδε καὶ πυρὸς σέλας
> κύκλωι περίστητ' ἐν λόχωι τ' ἀπείρονι
> εὔξασθε,
>
> But take your stand all round this altar and bright fire
> and in unbroken band utter prayer,

which we know from Porphyry who quotes it to have been addressed to a female chorus.[15] Mette inserts it in his fr. 343=204a/b Radt, a Prometheus play in which the chorus rejoices in the novelty of fire and is confident that it will attract Naiads. I agree with Fraenkel and I[133] others that this is a satyric chorus, in which case the play will be Aeschylus' *Prometheus Pyrkaeus* of 472.[16] But the scene is at least suggestive as a model for *Pyrph.*

In Hesiod the theft of fire followed its withdrawal by Zeus in response to the trick that Prometheus played on him at Mekone over the division of meat. It was itself followed by the creation of the first woman and her reception by Epimetheus. These matters are entirely ignored in *Desm.*, however, and we must take what we find there as our guide to the context of the theft in *Pyrph.* Prometheus relates (199 ff.) that when the younger gods began to rebel against the Titans, he, advised by his oracular mother Themis-Gaia,[17] tried to persuade his brothers to resist them by craft, not with force. They would not listen to him, so he changed sides and helped Zeus to victory. Zeus banished Kronos and his allies to Tartarus and assigned to the new gods their various privileges. For mortals he had no concern: he proposed to wipe them out and create a new race. Only Prometheus resisted, and he saved them from destruction, gave them hope of life in place of certainty of death, and fire from which they would develop many skills.[18]

[15] The injunction to pray does not exclude the addressees' being divine themselves. Hera prays to Earth, Heaven, and the Titans in *Hymn. Ap.* 332 ff.; the Erinyes pray to their mother Night in *Eum.* 321 and 844 and to the Moirai in 961.

[16] E. Fraenkel, *PBA* 28 (1942), 245 ff.; B. Snell, *Gnomon* 25 (1953), 435 f.; H. Lloyd-Jones, appendix to H. W. Smyth's Loeb *Fragments of Aeschylus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1957), 562; Radt in *TrGF* iii.

[17] In the genuine Aeschylus, *Eum.* 3, Themis is the daughter of Ge and her successor as the incumbent of the Delphic oracle.

[18] Cf. 110. Later, in 442 ff., Prometheus speaks as if mankind has already acquired all its arts, directly taught by him. The poet's conception has clearly evolved between the first passage and the second, and nothing of what is new in the second must be projected back into *Pyrph.* By 714 there are iron-working Chalybes.

It is doubtful what, if any, sense can be given to the statement in 331 that Oceanus shared and dared everything with Prometheus. He cannot have played any part in the theft of fire.

It is doubtful whether all this could have been encompassed in a tragedy. If it was, the *Pyrphoros* must have moved at a tremendous pace, wholly unlike that of the Brucknerian *Desmotes*. I think it much more likely that it began with Zeus already in power, the Titans already in Tartarus, and mortal men floundering in misery, deprived of the easy life they had enjoyed in the reign of Kronos and unequipped for the realities of the new world. The first part of the play will have been devoted to the representation of this situation by means of choral songs, dialogue between Prometheus and the chorus, and perhaps dialogue of a less friendly sort between Prometheus and some representative of Zeus' regime. If the chorus consisted of the Meliai, their sympathy for mankind is understandable, because they could be considered the mothers of mankind, in accordance with those traditions which had men born from trees.[19]

Two fragments attributed to Aeschylus but not to a specific play might have stood here. One is 312,

> αἱ δ' ἕπτ' Ἄτλαντος παῖδες ὠνομασμέναι
> πατρὸς μέγιστον ἆθλον οὐρανοστεγῆ
> κλαίεσκον, ἔνθα νυκτέρων φαντασμάτων
> ἔχουσι μορφὰς ἄπτεροι Πελειάδες.
>
> While the seven known as Atlas' Daughters
> lamented their father's unequalled labour of the sky-roof
> from where they appear in their nocturnal forms
> as Doves without wings.

The labour imposed on Atlas is twice referred to in sympathetic terms in *Desm.* (347 ff., 425 ff.), and Prometheus may have told the chorus about it in *Pyrph.* The other is 344, translated from the Armenian source as *Iouem a sceleratorum genere semouet et ab iniusto lex*, i.e. Zeus can do by virtue of his position things for which anyone else would be called a criminal. That does not sound like genuine Aeschylus, but it might well represent an exchange between Prometheus and a Jovite:

> — How is Zeus not unrighteous, if he acts like this?
> — He is not; the law exempts him from that name.

The theft of fire will have been preceded by a scene in which Prometheus obscurely intimated to the chorus that he intended to

[19] Hesiod may have considered them so. See my notes on *Th.* 187 and *Op.* 145–6.

do something to alleviate man's lot. They will have questioned him wonderingly in a passage of stichomythia, but he probably did not reveal everything: this the most likely context for fr. 208,

σιγῶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγων τὰ καίρια,

keeping silent where need be and saying what is called for,

especially in view of its immediate model, *Cho.* 582, where Orestes has been explaining his bold plan to the chorus. It is also a possible context for fr. 301 (fab. inc.),

ἀπάτης δικαίας οὐκ ἀποστατεῖ θεός.

A god does not disdain deception that is righteous.

|[134] That this verse came from the Prometheus trilogy is suggested by the following considerations:

1. It is a justification of some deception by a god, a justification presented presumably by himself. It does not look like a line from a longer speech (as of a *deus ex machina*) but a complete response to a query or reproach in stichomythia; addressed, moreover, to someone of less lofty status. There cannot have been many plays in which these circumstances arose.
2. Aeschylus knows that the gods deceive in the ultimate interest of justice, but the provocative, aphoristic formulation as an *ad hoc* self-justification reminds us more of the sophistic manner of *PV.*
3. The initial anapaest is, as has been noticed, markedly more frequent in the Prometheus poet than in the genuine Aeschylus.

Prometheus left the stage, and the chorus no doubt sang in a mood of anxious anticipation. Presently he returned with the fennel, the fire was lit on the altar, and after all due formalities had been attended to, the chorus sang again, joyfully, like the satyrs in the *Pyrkaeus* papyrus, and like other tragic choruses who think that everything is turning out all right.

But the crime had been detected. What noisy god now entered to charge Prometheus with it we cannot be sure; perhaps Hermes, who is introduced in *PV* 941 as if we had all seen him before. Hyginus in the passage cited above gives Mercury, not Vulcan, as the one who nailed Prometheus to the rock, and this could be the result of telescoping the proceedings at the close of *Pyrph.* with those of the opening of *Desm.* At any rate we may be sure that a tense scene ensued between a defiant Prometheus and an indignant emissary of

Zeus. There may have been an announcement of the further hardships now to be imposed on mankind through Pandora, τοῦ πηλοπλάστου σπέρματος θνητὴ γυνή (fr. 369). Trag. adesp. 352 would fit well here:

> εἱμαρμένον δὲ τῶν κακῶν βουλευμάτων
> κακὰς ἀμοιβάς ἐστι καρποῦσθαι βροτοῖς (v.l. -ούς).
>
> It is fated that for (these) ill counsels
> mortals shall harvest ill requital.

This was not a statement of a universal principle, as those who quote it understand: 'fated' implies a particular situation. A god is announcing how mankind is going to be punished.[20]

What is more certain is that the scene culminated in the announcement of Prometheus' punishment. We know that Hephaestus was appointed to carry it out (*PV* 3f.). There is no need to suppose, however, that he was brought onto the stage for this purpose in *Pyrph.* Prometheus was probably told, 'you will be fastened to a rock with unbreakable shackles forged by Hephaestus; there you will stay ἔτη τρισμύρια' (fr. 208a, cf. above),

> χροιὰν δὲ τὴν σὴν ἥλιος λάμπων φλογί
> αἰγυπτιώσει.
>
> And your complexion the sun's torchlike flame
> will Egyptify.[21]

At the end Kratos and Bia may have been called forward as κωφὰ πρόσωπα to lead him away, for this seems the obvious way of bringing the exodos about. The chorus would follow after him as helpless sympathizers, lamenting his fate and man's and the harshness of Zeus.

It remains to consider where the action was supposed to take place. The divine drama hardly needs a definite locale, but it would be contrary to tragic practice not to specify one. Karl Reinhardt thought that it would have had to be Olympus, if *Pyrph.* was the first play in the trilogy, which he did not believe.[22] That is surely the last

[20] I suspect that the gnomological tradition has substituted εἱμαρμένον for πεπρωμένον (cf. *PV* 103, 512, 518–19, 753, 815, *Ly.* fr. 199. 3) and τῶν for σῶν.

[21] Trag. adesp. 161, cf. *PV* 22f. σταθεντὸς δ' ἡλίου φοιβῆι φλογί | χροιᾶς ἀμείψεις ἄνθος. The fragment can only be addressed to someone who is going to be kept immobile in the open for a long period.

[22] *Tradition und Geist* (Göttingen 1960), 210 n.

place it could be. We want a place on earth associated with Prometheus or with the origin of fire. The Hesiodic Mekone meant little to the Athenians or to anyone else. One possibility is Academia outside Athens, where Prometheus was honoured with Hephaestus and Athena.[23] Its pleasant groves, a favourite resort from the city since Cimon's gardening works, would be appropriate for the Meliai. The strongest candidate, however, must be Lemnos, in view of Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 23 *ueniat Aeschylus . . . Quo modo fert apud eum Prometheus dolorem quem excipit ob furtum Lemnium!* Cicero's testimony is not conclusive, for shortly afterwards he locates Prometheus' bondage in the Caucasus, and even imports the Caucasus into his translation l[135] of the Titan's first speech in *Ly.* He has been conditioned to that by the mythographical vulgate,[24] and when he writes *furtum Lemnium* he may not be thinking of *Pyrph.*, which is not the Aeschylus he wants to quote: he adorns the phrase with a quotation from Accius' *Philoctetes,* where Ulysses, pointing out the landmarks of Lemnos, referred to the shrine of Hephaestus on the mountain where fire first came from heaven[25] and the grove where Prometheus shared it secretly with mortals. This is Cicero's immediate source. Accius may be recasting something from Aeschylus' *Philoctetes* or Euripides', but if so he has transferred it from a different context in the play. The grove he mentions would certainly do very well as the scene of *Pyrph.*, and the statements that Prometheus stole the fire from Hephaestus *(PV* 7, 38) suit Lemnos.

PROMETHEUS DESMOTES

On the left-hand side of the orchestra in the theatre of Dionysus there was at one time an outcrop of limestone which formed a natural eminence of some size, about 5 m across. At some stage in the

[23] Rose Unterberger, *Der gefesselte Prometheus des Aischylos* (Stuttgart 1968), 134. She believes that *Pyrph.* was the third play.

[24] As have Strabo 4. 1. 7 (fr. 199) and the writer of the *Desm.* Hypothesis, ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ὑπόκειται ἐν Σκυθίαι ἐπὶ τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. It is clear from 422 and 719 that the scene is not the Caucasus. To suppose that Prometheus emerged from the rock's embrace (1019) in a completely different place, for the sake of absolving Cicero from his error, is the height of absurdity.

[25] Lightning struck a tree: Tz. in Lyc. 227, cf. Hellan. fr. 71 Fowler, Diod. 1. 13. 3.

theatre's development it was removed, but N. G. L. Hammond has made a good case for believing that it was still there in Aeschylus' time and that he sometimes made use of it to represent a hill or mound.[26] Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 448 f., is inclined to accept this for the *Septem* and *Supplices*, but thinks that the rock was removed before the *Oresteia*, at the same time as the introduction of a stage set on the far side of the orchestra from the audience. But his argument is merely the negative one that the rock's only use in the *Oresteia* 'would be for the Areopagus in *Eum.*, and it seems implausible that the whole Areopagus should be represented by a small [*sic*] outcrop rather than left entirely to the imagination'. Because the trilogy could have been performed without a rock, it does not follow that the rock had been removed; and in fact, if Hammond is right in supposing that it served as Darius' grave-mound in the *Persae*,[27] then it could serve as well for Agamemnon's tomb in the *Choephoroe*,[28] and for the appearance of Clytaemestra's ghost in the *Eumenides*. The introduction of a stage set *c.*460 in no way depended on, or made advisable, the removal of the rock—least of all if, as Taplin thinks (457), the diameter of the orchestra was simultaneously reduced, leaving the rock further out of the performers' way.

In the plays we have from the last third of the fifth century, rocks and hills are scarcely called for,[29] and tombs seem to be small altar-like structures.[30] We may conclude that the outcrop had gone at least by *c.*430, for otherwise we cannot explain the persistent failure to make use of it, which is in such contrast with its almost constant appearance in Aeschylus. Its removal must surely be connected with the comprehensive reconstruction ot the theatre undertaken in the Periclean period, which involved an enlargement of the *skene* area,

[26] *GRBS* 13 (1972), 409 ff.

[27] Op. cit. 423, 428. Cf. especially *Pers.* 659 ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου.

[28] 4 τύμβου δ' ἐπ' ὄχθωι τῶιδε. Hammond 436 f.

[29] The main exception is Andromeda's rock. Pirithous was also bound to a rock, but the *Pirithous* may have been composed before 430; at least if it is by Euripides, it belongs to his early work. The rocky peak from which Euadne leaps in *Supp.* 980–1071 rose up behind the *skene*; it is fully discussed by N. C. Hourmouziades, *Production and Imagination in Euripides* (Athens 1965), 32 f. Rocky caves in which people live (*Ichneutai*, *Cyclops*, *Philoctetes*, etc.) are essentially different; they were certainly represented by adapting the *skene*. On them see W. Jobst, *Die Höhle im griechischen Theater des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts vor Chr.* (Vienna 1970), 24 ff.

[30] P. D. Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions* (Oxford 1962), 61–3, 137. In Sophocles' *Polyxena* (fr. 523 + Longin. π. ὕψ. 15. 7) Achilles' ghost apparently rose from his tomb; this may have been an early play.

the re-siting of the orchestra and *eisodoi*, and the re-contouring of the auditorium within new supporting walls.[31]

I[136] In *Prometheus Desmotes* and for a large part of *Lyomenos* the focus of attention is a rock, described as high and rugged, constantly called a πάγος (20, 117, 130, 270; so of the hill in *Supp.* 189), πέτρα, or φάραγξ. It was not imposed on the poet by the story, for in the Hesiodic version Prometheus is fastened to a pillar. Hammond (422 ff.) is surely right in assuming that the Titan was bound on the natural rock to the left of the orchestra and not, as is usually supposed, on an artificial construction in the centre of the *skene* area.

The play opens with the unusual spectacle of four actors entering together:[32] Prometheus, held by Kratos and Bia, and Hephaestus carrying a hammer and a collection of shackles (54, 56). The prisoner is taken up onto the rock, which, as we can gather from other plays, is easily ascended from the orchestra.[33] The actual shackling is simulated, of course, because he has to be able to remove himself at the end, but it is simulated vividly, with ringing blows of metal against stone (133).

Hephaestus, Kratos, and Bia descend and depart. Prometheus' anapaests in 93–100 presumably accompany their exit; if they go by the east *eisodos*, they are soon out of sight behind the rock.

Presently the Oceanids arrive. How they arrive is one of the two great problems in the staging of the play. On a literal reading of the text (114–35+271–83), they come flying into view with a multitudinous flapping of wings that suggests a flock of birds. They are seated in a winged vehicle or vehicles, in which they remain aloft for some 150 lines. Prometheus then invites them to descend to earth, and they do so, stepping nimbly (ἐλαφρῶι ποδί) out of whatever they were sitting in. All kinds of explanations have been offered of the means by which these manoeuvres were represented: some ludicrous, some unworkable, some simply feeble. They may be divided as follows:

[31] W. Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.* 49 (1924), 89; A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus at Athens* (Oxford 1946), 15 ff.; Hammond 410 f. It is now known that the newer temple of Dionysus behind the *skene* area does not date from this period but from the fourth century: *Deltion* 18 (1963), *Χρον.* 14 f.

[32] Cf. Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 240 f.

[33] Hammond 421.

(i) Some think that there were no vehicles at all: the chorus danced in, miming flight, and the rest was left to the imagination.[34] There are two serious objections. Why are the Oceanids, nymphs of springs, represented as flying at all? It is not in their nature to fly, and other gods reach the place on foot without difficulty. The author's only motive for bringing them by air is to achieve a spectacular effect, and if they are in fact merely dancing, there is none.[35] And secondly, if they are not in actual vehicles (aloft or aground) at 271, why all the fuss about their now getting down out of them? Fictitious vehicles would have been far better forgotten.

(ii) Some think that they came in wheeled vehicles at ground level or on the roof of the *skene* or some other elevated platform.[36] It is difficult to conceive that any impression of flight could be so achieved, whether with a communal cattle-truck or a squadron of Bath chairs, or that the I^{137} audience readily accepted the creaking of axles in place of the whirring of wings. What were the means of propulsion? 'Attendants who would be regarded by convention as non-existent' (Sikes–Willson)? Hardly convincing aviation. Hidden ropes and winches? Think how awkwardly they would move forward. As for the *skene* roof, it is doubtful whether there was one at this period substantial enough for dodgems, and if there was, its boards would add fearfully to the creaking and rumbling. Ancient wheels had no rubber tyres. And how were the vehicles concealed from the view of the spectators in the upper rows before the chorus's entry? The *skene* roof cannot have been more than about 8 ft high in Euripides' time,[37] whereas the auditorium went up about 85 ft higher. No alternative elevated track is conceivable in the theatre as we know it. That only leaves the ground; and does anyone really believe that the Oceanids were trundled (uphill) up the *eisodoi*, sat there like an invalids' outing for a quarter of an hour, and then dismounted to find places in an orchestra littered with abandoned transport?

[34] G. Thomson, *CQ* 23 (1929), 160 f., and *Aeschylus: The Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge 1932), 142–4.

[35] Cf. Griffith 144, Taplin 259 f.

[36] e. g. E. E. Sikes and St J. B. W. Willson, *Prometheus Vinctus of Aeschylus* (London 1908), xlvi; F. Focke, *Hermes* 65 (1930), 282 f.; Pickard-Cambridge 39; Unterberger 10; T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Theatre Production* (2nd ed., London 1970), 12; Arnott 76 f.; Hammond 424.

[37] Arnott 43.

(iii) Some think that they really were borne through the air by means of the *mechane*, either in one container[38] or in individual winged chairs of the pattern used by Triptolemos.[39] It will be granted that the last method would be visually satisfactory, if it could be carried out, and that it is really the only one that approaches being so.

The objections raised to both versions of the crane theory are on practical grounds.[40] On all other known occasions when the crane was used in drama, it carried not more than two persons, or one on a (model) horse or other animal. It must have been designed for tasks of that order, and we cannot believe that the same machine was capable of carrying an entire chorus, weighing with their vehicles a ton or more and occupying not less than 250 cu. ft of space. The Athenians did have building cranes that enabled them to raise stone blocks of up to 12 tons or more to the top of an edifice.[41] But the theatre crane probably had little in common with those. It had not only to lift a man but to move him easily up, down, or sideways as required. It was worked by a single operator[42] and appears to have functioned in the manner of the κηλώνειον, consisting basically of a counterweighted boom on an altazimuth mounting.[43] It was probably no larger than it needed to be to swing its load up over the *skene* façade. For a whole chorus a far larger machine would have had to be built, and it is doubtful whether it would have been operable.

A more plausible solution to the problem is to suppose that several cranes were used. Six would certainly suffice for a chorus of twelve,[44]

[38] A surprisingly popular option: Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 21 (1886), 610=*Kl. Schr.* i (Berlin 1935), 161, *Aischylos. Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914), 116, Headlam, Smyth, Mazon, Groeneboom, and others.

[39] E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* i (Rome 1964), 398 ff.

[40] Sikes–Willson p. xlvi, Pickard-Cambridge 39, Arnott 76, Taplin 254, Hammond 424, etc.

[41] See J. J. Coulton, *JHS* 94 (1974), 1–19, and *Greek Architects at Work* (London–New York 1977), 84, 144.

[42] Ar. *Peace* 174, frr. 160, 192 K.–A.; Strattis fr. 4 K.–A.

[43] See P. Oxy. 2742 fr. 1, Poll. 4. 128, 131; Pickard-Cambridge 127 f.; Arnott 72–5. I am not sure whether the τροχός which the operator may ἐᾶν ἀνεκάς in Ar. fr. 192 is a winch enabling the actor to be lowered from the boom or simply a counterweight with which the operator guides the machine.

[44] The argument is not greatly affected if the chorus was of fifteen. Taplin 323 n. 3 suspects that the tragic chorus always numbered fifteen. As he observes, the ancient statements that Sophocles increased it from twelve to fifteen may be based solely on the belief that *Ag.* 1348–71 implies a chorus of twelve. But to me that belief seems

possibly four, if each were made to bear three cars and passengers. We have no evidence for more than one crane being used on other occasions, true; but then we have no other text that calls for a chorus to fly.[45] Staging *Desm.* was by any account a uniquely ambitious and expensive undertaking. There is, moreover, a practical reason why cranes could not proliferate in the period after *c.*435, in which most of our plays fall: a large part of the width of the stage was occupied by a permanent roofed building. The *mechane* was confined to a screened but unroofed area at the side.[46] Earlier, from the time of its first use *c.*460, the *skene* had probably been what its name suggests, a light temporary structure erected anew for each festival and easily removable for a play set in desert regions.

I[138] On the other hand there would be difficulties in staging *Desm.* in the way I have suggested if we take it back to the time of Aeschylus, when the width of the stage was not more than about 18 m.[47] A crane carrying two riders would require, I reckon, some 4 m clear working space, given that both ends of the boom had to move in a lateral arc. For three riders one would have to allow more. For the operation to be carried out without severe congestion, we need the enlarged stage of the Periclean theatre, laid out to the same width as the Parthenon stylobate, 100 Attic feet = 30.89 m.[48]

Here, then, is an important consideration bearing on the date of the trilogy. The text of *Desm.* indicates, as clearly as we could wish, that the Oceanids were intended to enter flying. The only feasible and effective way of achieving this presupposes a stage which has been widened but not yet built over. The rock beside the orchestra has not yet been removed; the east *eisodos* has to skirt it. It follows that the *Prometheus* and its companion plays could only have been conceived and produced at a certain fairly short transitional period in the

justified (cf. Fraenkel's edition, iii. 633–5; Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed., 235). What we lack is any equally good evidence from the plays that the chorus ever numbered fifteen. Presumably it did attain that size before the end of the fifth century, for it is not likely to have been increased at any later date in view of the chorus's declining significance. But a later writer may have ascribed the change to Sophocles simply because he came next after Aeschylus, for whom twelve was attested.

[45] Not even *Clouds* or *Birds*.

[46] On the left, if Poll. 4. 128 may be taken as evidence for this period.

[47] Hammond 414.

[48] I infer this from the post-holes in the breccia base, originally ten in number, which held the support posts of the *skene* façade: they extend over a distance of 28.5 m.

development of the Theatre of Dionysus, say between *c.*445 and *c.*435.

Beyond Prometheus' rock, then, I suppose the audience to see a new stage, 100 feet wide, across which run two wooden screens, some 2 m high, on either side of a central gap. Above the screens, which are painted to suggest mountainous scenery, the tops of several cranes inevitably project, possibly camouflaged with branches. As Prometheus exclaims *ἆ ἆ ἔα ἔα* and breaks into his unforgettable snatch of song (if it is song),

τίς ἀχώ, τίς ὀδμὰ προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής;

the Oceanids start to rise into view, sitting barefooted in their winged thrones which sway and hover like a flight of birds just in front of the screens. The astonished spectator surmises that this must be the chorus, and receives confirmation when they begin to sing. But they remain hanging in mid-air throughout the ensuing scene (in which Prometheus' singing voice is tested no more).

At 271 the poet decides that it is time to bring them to earth, and he makes Prometheus persuade them to descend so that they may hear about his future prospects. *ἀκούσατε*, he says, as if about to reveal all. They are willing; they desire to hear the whole story. Their vehicles sink low enough for them to step down.[49] But instead of the entertainment they have been promised, their father Oceanus suddenly barges forth over the fence on a griffin, and the next 113 lines are devoted to dialogue between him and Prometheus uninterrupted by a word from the chorus. They then sing an ode as if nothing had happened, after which they do hear Prometheus' story—all that he did for men, and the first hints of what is to come. Not surprisingly, the Oceanus scene has been suspected of being an insertion.[50] I think there is no real doubt that it was composed by the same poet as the rest. It has all his trademarks, some of them in abnormal measure. On the other hand it seems safe to say that when he composed 271–83 he was not planning this as the immediate sequel. The chorus would still have had to land if he had been, to free a crane for Oceanus' use, but some different reason would have been

[49] The crane operators perhaps lift the counterweights up onto supports, so as not to be suddenly supporting them themselves, and then unhook them and swing the booms back.

[50] Wilhelm Schmid, *Untersuchungen zum gefesselten Prometheus* (Tübingen 1929), 5–15.

provided. As it is, the poet must have had a prior motive for bringing them down when he does. The obvious one is so that they can dance—as they do the moment Oceanus departs. They sing *inter alia* of Atlas, who is introduced (425 ff.) as if we had not already heard about him from Prometheus in the Oceanus scene (347–50). The stasimon as a whole would stand satisfactorily after 283. The silence for which Prometheus apologizes in 436 is his delay in continuing after his promise in 271–6: his intervening dialogue with Oceanus obscures the connection, just as it disrupts the whole sequence of action. The poet inserted it presumably because he found that his play was turning out too short or that the plot was advancing too rapidly. It is hastily written, dramatically weak and repetitious, inflated by the irrelevant digression on Atlas and Typhoeus (for whose sufferings Prometheus was not responsible), and in the end ludicrous; no wonder the griffin becomes impatient. The chorus I^{139} are silent throughout not because they have temporarily disappeared[51] but because the poet has entirely neglected to harmonize the scene with its context. Having decided to add it, he has let his mind run exclusively on what Oceanus might say to Prometheus and Prometheus to Oceanus.[52]

Oceanus' griffin (as the scholiast convincingly interprets the 'four-legged bird') is, like his daughters' winged chairs, gratuitous spectacle. Rider and mount were carried by the crane, as were Bellerophon and Pegasus in Euripides' *Bellerophon* and *Stheneboia* (both early plays) and Trygaeus and his giant beetle in Aristophanes' *Peace*. Their combined weight may have approached that of a pair of Oceanids, so that the same counterweight could be used. But the operator and the Oceanids concerned would have had to work very fast at 277–83 to enable Oceanus to appear without an awkward delay—a further embarrassment caused by the insertion.[53]

[51] Against this theory of Wilamowitz and others see Taplin 256 f. In 281 χθονὶ τῇδε πελῶ they tell us as clearly as could be wished that they are alighting on the ground in full view of everyone.

[52] He does not in fact give the chorus much to say in the later scenes with Io and Hermes.

[53] The manoeuvre could perhaps have been speeded up a little by using Oceanus as the counterweight to a pair of his daughters. A couple of stage-hands would have had to hoist him up on their shoulders when the Oceanids dismounted and then bear him round towards the fence; two others would seize the free end of the boom as soon as it came within reach and haul it down, and Oceanus would be up and away. All this may of course be far from the truth, but it is important to discuss these questions in the most concrete practical terms.

We may now pass to the closing scene and the problem of what happens to the various people present. I agree with Taplin (269 f.) and most commentators that Hermes stalks off at 1079. The question is what becomes of Prometheus and the chorus. The indications given in the text may be summed up as follows:

1016–21 (Hermes) Zeus will shatter the rock with thunder and lightning, and Prometheus will be concealed inside it for a lengthy period.

1043–52 (Prom.) Let him employ thunder, lightning, furious winds, shake the earth from its foundations, confound sea and sky, and throw me into darkest Tartarus.

1060–79 (Hermes) Anyone who stays here will hear terrifying thunderclaps and be in danger of disaster. (Cho.) We shall stay nevertheless.

1080–8 Now there really is an earthquake, thunder, lightning, dust-laden whirlwinds; sky and sea are confused.

Not all of these phenomena could be simulated in the theatre, but thunder and lightning could be and no doubt were. The impious Salmoneus' methods, dragging cauldrons and inflated skins |[140] behind his chariot and hurling torches into the air, are already known to pseudo-Hesiod and alluded to by Sophocles.[54] There is evidence for mechanical thunder and lightning at least in the later theatre,[55] and we may be sure that even if they had never been used before, an author so given to spectacular effects as the poet of *Desm.* would not have left them to the imagination at the climax of his play.[56]

Did they just die away after Prometheus' last words, while he and the chorus remained in full view waiting for someone to start applauding? That would be a dreadful anticlimax, besides being

[54] 'Hes.' fr. 30. 4–10, cf. Apollod. 1. 9. 7; Soph. fr. 10c. 6, and probably his *Salmoneus.*

[55] Sch. Ar. *Nub.* 294, Poll. 4. 130, Tz. *Prol. de com.* p. 36. 79–81 ~ 46. 83–6 Koster; A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre* (3rd ed., Oxford 1907), 218; Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus* 133; Arnott 89 f.

[56] Scholars are perhaps at present too taken with the idea of effects being left to the imagination in ancient drama. One has only to read the plays of Kālidāsa to appreciate the difference between drama which limits itself to what it is possible to represent visually, as the Greek does, and drama which does not, as the prop-less, scenery-less Sanskrit does not. And we know, for example, that when someone was supposed to be flying in a Greek play, he was really hoisted through the air.

'unparalleled in the stage technique of Greek tragedy since it would be the only exit or entry which is actually left to the imagination' (Taplin 274). The chorus have been offered a good excuse for leaving, in keeping with their timorous nature, and they have unexpectedly declined the opportunity. The poet must have thought of an alternative means of exit for them, as unconventional as their entrance. As for Prometheus, the whole notion of his being concealed in the rock for a time has no point unless it corresponds to an actual vanishing act at the end of the play and his absence during the interval before *Ly.* But was there a way of vanishing from the rock beside the orchestra? If we are right about its use by Darius and Clytaemestra in Aeschylus, there was. For those royal ghosts were able to rise up out of the earth without having been seen to arrive, and disappear back into it.[57] This suggests that there was some kind of concealed approach to the top of the rock from the *eisodos* behind. Geologically this is plausible. Limestone tends to weather into steps on the scarp side; the stratification in the area would indicate that this was the north-east side of the rock, which agrees most satisfactorily with the evidence that it was easily ascended from the orchestra (west) side. So there might have been a natural staircase on the east face. Alternatively there might have been a fissure on the south side, as the joints in limestone are commonly widened and deepened by chemical solution.[58] If something of the sort existed, all that was necessary was for the chorus to go up onto the rock sometime after 1063 (as the Danaids had done in *Supplices*) and cluster round Prometheus, hiding him from view: he would then make his escape, delivering his last words as he went, and they would rapidly follow him out of sight amid the final thunderclaps.

PROMETHEUS LYOMENOS

Centuries have passed. Prometheus' temporary entombment is forgotten; he resumes his place on the rock-face for the beginning of

[57] Cf. Hammond 423.

[58] I am indebted to Dr David Bell of the Oxford Department of Geology and Mineralogy for instruction in these matters.

the third play.[59] His appearance is perhaps somewhat changed. Emphatic predictions (above p. 259) have prepared us for a darkening of his skin.[60] Also he should have a wound where the eagle attacks him.

The Titans come tramping up the *eisodos*.

> ἥκομεν . . .
> τοὺς σοὺς ἄθλους τούσδε Προμηθεῦ
> δεσμοῦ τε πάθος τόδ' ἐποψόμενοι.[61]

The anapaests went on with a catalogue of the places they had passed on their way (frr. 191–2, 203). It included Aethiop territory by the Ocean where the sun sets, the Red Sea, the warlike I[141] Heniochoi of the Caucasus, and the Phasis, which the poet regards as the boundary of Europe and Asia and therefore locates at the Cimmerian Bosporus.[62] Roughly speaking, then, the Titans have followed in reverse the route laid down for Io, traversing Africa and Asia before reaching Europe from the east. Where was their starting-point? We must assume that since their release from Tartarus they have been settled in the Isles of the Blest.[63] It looks as if the poet located these off the west coast of Africa, in the Canaries, as did some later writers.[64]

They probably commented on Prometheus' shrivelled and decayed appearance. This is suggested by the echo in Cratinus' *Ploutoi*, fr. 171 K.–A., where the chorus describe themselves as Titans

[59] Convention allowed characters to walk in at the start of a play and take up a position which for the purposes of the drama they were supposed to have been in for a considerable time. See Taplin 134–6.

[60] Merely a dramatic device to underline the lapse of time, or did his complexion have to be brought into accord with a statue familiar to the Athenians? A potters' god might have a scorched and sooty face: cf. Hom. *Kaminos* (*Vita Homeri Herodotea* 32) 22 f. with G. M. Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery* (New Haven 1923), 76 f.

[61] Fr. 190. Cf. *PV* 1 ἥκομεν, 284 f. ἥκω . . . πρὸς σὲ Προμηθεῦ, 298 f. καὶ σὺ δὴ πόνων ἐμῶν | ἥκεις ἐπόπτης;

[62] Cf. *PV* 730–5 and 790; J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford 1962), 56 f. πῆι μὲν is suspect in fr. 191 (τῆι μὲν, ἐπὶ μὲν have been conjectured); perhaps Arrian took ἐπῆιμεν from an earlier metron. The Titans must have crossed the river to reach Prometheus on the European side.

[63] H. Weil, p. xi of his edition of the play; Wilamowitz, *Aisch. Int.* 151. See Hes. *Op.* 173a–c, Pind. *Ol.* 2. 70 ff. For the genuine Aeschylus (*Eum.* 650–5) Kronos is still in bondage.

[64] Strab. 1. 1. 5, 3. 2. 13, Mela 3. 102, Juba 275 F 44, Ptol. 4. 6. 34.

who, now that their bondage is over and the tyrant Zeus overborne by the Demos,[65]

> δεῦρ' ἐσύθημεν πρὸς ϙ̣ [
> αὐτοκασίγνητόν τε παλαιὸν
> ζητοῦντε[ς] ϰεἰ σαθρὸν ἤδη.
>
> We have hastened hither to the [
> and looking for our ancient brother
> albeit now decrepit.

If P. Heidelberg 185 (=fr. 451u) is to be assigned to *Ly.* and to its first scene, the Titans' emotion boiled up into dochmiacs before Prometheus addressed them. But there are serious difficulties in the identification.[66]

Prometheus' speech, known from Cicero's translation (fr. 193), must have been followed by further dialogue before anyone else entered. Trag. adesp. 342,

> ἐλαφρὸν παραινεῖν τῶι κακῶς πεπραγότι,
>
> It is easy to offer advice to one sunk in misfortune,

might belong here in view of its similarity to *PV* 263 ff. (Prometheus to the Oceanids),

> ἐλαφρόν, ὅστις πημάτων ἔξω πόδα
> ἔχει, παραινεῖν νουθετεῖν τε τὸν κακῶς
> πράσσοντα.

We have noted before this poet's habit of repeating himself,[67] and also his weakness for initial anapaests.

[65] There seems a clear allusion here to Pericles' deposition from the strategia. Lenaia 429 follows as the probable date for the *Ploutoi*. So W. Luppe, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 16 (1967), Gesellsch. u. Sprachwiss. Reihe, 1. 68, 83. Cratinus also parodied *PV* in his *Seriphioi* (*c.*423?), frr. 222–3 and 343 K.–A. A series of fragments of Varro's *Prometheus Liber* come from a passage in which the bound Titan described his sufferings in terms no doubt largely inspired by Aeschylus (423–7 Astbury); they include (424) *tum ut si subernus cortex aut cacumina* | *morientum in querqueto arborum aritudine,* (425) *atque <ex artubus>* | *exsanguibus dolore elurescat colos,* (427) *leuis mens umquam somnurnas imagines* | *affatur, non umbrantur somno pupulae.*

[66] K. Reinhardt, *Hermes* 85 (1957), 12 ff. and *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 25 (1957), both in his *Tradition und Geist* (Göttingen 1960) (182 ff., 221). Reinhardt assigns the fragment to *Pyrph.*, but his reconstruction of it is altogether too hypothetical.

[67] See W. Schmid, op. cit. (n. 50), 9–11 and 69.

It is commonly assumed that the next person to make an appearance was Ge, perhaps rising out of the earth to waist level.[68] The belief that she had a role in the play is based on the list of characters preceding the text of *Desm.*, for in most manuscripts it includes Ge and Heracles in addition to the characters who actually occur in that play, and Heracles certainly had a part in *Ly.* It is accordingly supposed that a fragment from a *dramatis personae* for *Ly.* has somehow become conflated with that for *Desm.* This explanation seems never to have been questioned,[69] yet no convincing reason has been given for believing that the *dramatis personae* of different plays were in any circumstances written out side by side. There is at least one possible alternative explanation that ought to be borne in mind. Whoever compiled the list presumably did so by running his eye |[142] down the margins of the text he was concerned with and collecting the names that marked characters entering. He might easily include by mistake a name that had been written in the margin for a different reason. There happens to be in *Desm.* a place where both *Γῆ* and *Ἡρακλῆς* might have been written in the margin in close proximity as glosses: 871–4,

> *σπορᾶς γε μὴν ἐκ τῆσδε φύσεται θρασύς,*
> *τόξοισι κλεινός, ὃς πόνων ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐμέ*
> *λύσει· τοιόνδε χρησμὸν ἡ παλαιγενὴς*
> *μήτηρ ἐμοὶ διῆλθε Τιτανὶς Θέμις.*

If this is the source of their appearance in the cast-list, we should expect them to come between Io and Hermes. In fact Io is out of sequence (as is Prometheus) in the manuscripts in question, but Ge and Heracles do appear in the predicted place before Hermes. The evidence for an appearance of Ge in *Ly.*, then, is at best doubtful. She is certainly not required to advance the plot, since Prometheus has already received all the instruction he needs from her before *Desm.* begins. I am much more inclined to believe that his first visitor after the Titans—following a choral song by them—was Heracles.

[68] This hypothesis apparently inspired the similar epiphany of Erda in *Das Rheingold* (P. Maas, *Kl. Schr.* 650). An Apulian calyx-crater of about the third quarter of the fourth century, decorated with a painting based on *Ly.* (the play as a whole, not any particular scene), shows a featureless female to the right of the bound Prometheus, but her identification as Ge seems to be arbitrary (Berlin 1969.9; T. B. L. Webster–A. D. Trendall, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London 1971), iii. 1. 27).

[69] Wilamowitz, *Aisch. Int.* 128, is evidently none too happy with it, but finds no better one.

Heracles, like Io, is a wanderer who arrives at Prometheus' rock by chance. He is on his way to Geryones or, according to Posidonius, to the Hesperides (fr. 199). Prometheus will give him directions, as before he gave them to Io. But the scene contained other business of more relevance to Prometheus. The eagle, whose attacks every second day he had described to the chorus (fr. 193, cf. *PV* 1021–5), made its appearance on one of the cranes and was shot down by Heracles in full view of the audience[70]—the only killing in tragedy to take place on stage, though Artemis in Sophocles' *Niobe* was seen above the house shooting arrows into it. And Hermes' statement in *PV* 1026–9, that Prometheus' suffering would not end

> πρὶν ἂν θεῶν τις διάδοχος τῶν σῶν πόνων
> φανῇ θελήσῃ τ' εἰς ἀναύγητον μολεῖν
> Ἅιδην κνεφαῖά τ' ἀμφὶ Ταρτάρου βάθη,

found fulfilment. The god, according to the only known version of the story, was Chiron, whom Heracles had accidentally wounded in the fray that followed Pholos' drinking party and who chose to give up his immortality to Prometheus and die rather than live in incurable pain.[71] After shooting the eagle, we are told in that version, Heracles παρέσχε τῶι Διὶ Χείρωνα θνήισκειν ἀθάνατον <ὄντα> ἀντ' αὐτοῦ θέλοντα.[72] Heracles was indeed the only possible intermediary between Chiron and the bound Prometheus. According to Stesichorus Heracles was entertained by Pholos while on his way to Geryones.[73] Our poet, then, or his source for the Chiron story, could represent Heracles as having wounded Chiron earlier on the same journey that brought him to Prometheus. Knowing of the Centaur's desire to die, and learning of Prometheus' need of just such a sacrifice, he could then assure the Titan that this requirement of Zeus' was fulfilled; perhaps also that he, being

[70] This is certain in view of fr. 200, where Heracles, μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρνιν αἴρεσθαι τὸ τόξον, prays that Apollo may guide the arrow straight. Rightly Reinhardt, *Tradition und Geist*, 219.

[71] Apollod. 2. 5. 4. 4–5, 5. 11. 10, from Pherecydes, cf. 3 F 83 with Jacoby.

[72] 2. 5. 11. 10. The Vatican epitome omits ἀθάνατον. In 2. 5. 4. 5 we should read ἀντιδόντος Διὶ Ἡρακλέους Προμηθέα (instead of Διὶ Προμηθέως) τὸν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ (*sc.* Χείρωνος) γενησόμενον ἀθάνατον.

[73] *PMGF* 181 = S19 (p. 162 Davies); surely not on his way back, when he had a herd of cattle to manage.

Zeus' son, knew that his father would accept the arrangement as made by him.[74]

Did Heracles himself release Prometheus from the rock? 'Probus' on Virg. *Ec.* 6. 42, in a version of the myth that is based in outline on the trilogy but departs from it in detail, says that Heracles killed the vulture (*sic*) but was afraid to free Prometheus, *ne offenderet patrem.* Prometheus subsequently warned Jupiter against the union with Thetis, and Jupiter in gratitude released him. |[143] Hyginus, *Fab.* 54, puts it the other way round: Prometheus agreed to reveal his secret if Jupiter released him, Jupiter promised, Prometheus spoke, and Thetis was given to Peleus; Hercules was sent to kill the eagle, after which Prometheus was released. Philodemus, *π. εὐσεβείας* 5860 ff. Obbink, explicitly ascribes to Aeschylus (p. 306 Radt) the proposition that Prometheus was freed *ὅ[τι τὸ λ]όγιον ἐμή[νυσε]ν τὸ περὶ Θέ[τιδ]ος κτλ.* But these accounts conflict with the clear programme presupposed by repeated statements in *Desm.*: Prometheus will not reveal the secret about Thetis *until* he has been released and offered compensation (172–7, 770, 989–91); and he will be released by Heracles (771–4, 785, 871–3; cf. 27).[75] It is implied that the release takes place with Zeus' consent (176, 375–6).[76] These data constitute our most reliable evidence for the course of events in *Ly.*, and it is not wise to reject them on the strength of summary statements and renarrations in later sources. In fact, by allowing Heracles to free Prometheus the dramatist can avoid an awkward dilemma, for otherwise either Prometheus must abandon his four-hundred-year-old resolve and spill his secret before being released, or Zeus must capitulate to the Titan.

[74] H. Weil, *Études sur le drame antique* (Paris 1897), 78, 80, followed by T. Zieliński, *Tragodumenon libri tres* (Cracow 1925), 34 ff., pointed out that the Chiron story properly belongs to a version where Prometheus is punished in Hades-Tartarus (Hor. *C.* 2. 13. 37, 18. 35) and does not make much sense in one where he is punished in the upper world. One can envisage Heracles' mediation in the context of the Cerberus Labour: he could as well converse with the bound Prometheus in Hades as with the bound Pirithous in the play of that name. Our tragedian knows something about Prometheus' being consigned to Hades, but makes this a dramatic interlude (in more senses than one); above, p. 269.

Chiron's desire to die might have prompted the remark (fr. 353, fab. inc.) *ὡς οὐ δικαίως θάνατον ἔχθουσιν βροτοί,* | *ὅπερ μέγιστον ῥῦμα τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν.*

[75] Heracles releases him also in Apollod. 2. 5. 11. 10 (Pherecydes? but sch. A.R. 4. 1396=3 F 17 mentions only shooting the eagle), Hyg. *Fab.* 144, Pediasimus 11.

[76] 771 *ἄκοντος Διός* (*ἄρχοντος* Pauw) is not to be taken as counter-evidence. As Weil explained (op. cit. 91), it means 'if' (or 'seeing that') Zeus is unwilling.

The sequence of events from Heracles' arrival to his departure may have been something like this:

Prometheus hails his destined liberator; Heracles learns the situation (including the danger his father is in), and expresses his concern.

The eagle appears and is shot.

Heracles offers to release Prometheus altogether on condition that he reveals the secret to Zeus, but is told that Prometheus cannot become free to live the life of an immortal until another immortal opts for death. He explains that he knows such a one. Prometheus promises to save Zeus. Mounting the rock, Heracles applies his club to the shackles with two or three resounding blows (punctuated by trimeters), and they fall away.[77]

Short choral song of the sort that may be sung while characters remain on stage.

Prometheus gives Heracles directions for the continuation of his travels, and he leaves.[78]

Stasimon.

As has been mentioned, Heracles' destination is given both as Geryones and as the Hesperides. Both may be correct, for although some fifth-century accounts separated the two localities, the older authorities placed the Hesperides' island near Erytheia. It belonged indeed to the same story, being the birthplace of Geryones' herdsman Eurytion; golden apples grew there, but there seems originally to have been no question of Heracles' taking them.[79] That developed subsequently as a separate Labour, requiring a separate journey. The Prometheus poet kept Geryones and the Hesperides together. Whether both represented Labours is uncertain, but the discrepancy

[77] They must be broken either by strength or by art; if not by Heracles, then by Hephaestus who made them. So Schmid 100.

[78] In this context one might put fr. 315 *τῶι πονοῦντι δ' ἐκ θεῶν | ὀφείλεται τέκνωμα τοῦ πόνου κλέος* and Adesp. 410/410a *πολλοῦ σε θνητοῖς ἄξιον τίκτει πατήρ· | καὶ μή τι παυσώμεσθα δρῶντες εὖ βροτούς* (the two verses are not to be separated, for the first would not have been quoted for its own sake; the addressee is surely Heracles, and the speaker another philanthropic god).

[79] Hes. *Th.* 215 f., 274–94, 333–6, 517–19; Stes. S7–8 with C. M. Robertson, *CQ* 19 (1969), 215 f. Hesiod evidently knew an eighth-century epic on the subject. He represents the serpent who guards the apples as alive and well (336), whereas later authors say Heracles slew it.

between the sources in fr. 199 suggests at least that they were both mentioned with some emphasis. The conventional (Stesichorean) Iberian location was retained, for Heracles' route, as Prometheus described it to him, was to take him through the nomad Scyths and Abioi (196, 198),[80] across the Ister (197),[81] and through Ligyan territory (199).[82]

l[144] If Heracles leaves Prometheus free, how is the sequel to be imagined? How and why is Zeus warned about Thetis? Even if Prometheus has promised to tell him, a plausible setting for the revelation is needed. Nothing has happened to make Prometheus feel particularly benevolent towards Zeus. He has referred to Heracles, already *σωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*, as *ἐχθροῦ πατρός μοι τοῦτο φίλτατον τέκνον* (201). He is even less likely now to respond to demands from Hermes than when he was in fetters. But clearly some new character has got to appear. Much the most attractive hypothesis, I think, is that it is Thetis herself, fleeing from Zeus' embraces. This was suggested by A. D. Fitton-Brown, *JHS* 79 (1959), 57, who pointed out that a (Byzantine) commentator on *PV* 167 says of Zeus and Thetis *οὗτος γὰρ ἐρασθεὶς αὐτῆς ἐδίωκεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷι Καυκάσωι ὄρει ὅπως συγγένηται αὐτῆι, ἐκωλύθη δὲ ὑπὸ Προμηθέως εἰπόντος αὐτῷι ὅτι ὁ μέλλων γεννηθῆναι ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔσται κρείττων κατὰ πολὺ τοῦ οἰκείου πατρός*. (Cf. Nonn. *D.* 33. 355–69.) Fitton-Brown assumed that Prometheus was still bound and had to give up his secret now because once Zeus actually took Thetis, it would have no further value. But that is not a convincing motivation for Prometheus, who can expect to be released anyway if Zeus falls

[80] It is hard to see why the poet should have changed the Homeric Abioi (*Il.* 13. 6) into *Γάβιοι* (196. 3), as sch. Hom. l.c. and St. Byz. α 8 assert. Possibly the originator of this statement mistakenly combined the word, which begins a trimeter, with a stichometric symbol; *Γ* (300) would be a surprisingly low figure, but one could also think of I (900).

[81] Conceived to flow down from the Rhipaean mountains and divide into the Danube and Po. In sch. A.R. 4. 282–91b (p. 280. 8–10 W.) read *καὶ τὸ μὲν {εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσαν ἐκβάλλειν ῥεῖθρον, τὸ δὲ} εἰς τὴν Ποντικὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπίπτειν, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἀδριατικὸν κόλπον*. Cf. p. 281. 9–12.

[82] Hyginus says that the Ligyans were encountered on the return journey, and that they tried to rob Heracles of Geryones' cattle. But at least the second part of this is an invention; Strabo quotes the original verses, and they say not a word about the cattle. Heracles may have returned through Africa, or the poet may have said nothing about his return route, having already dealt with all other sectors of the earth in connection with Io and the Titans.

from power. It is more plausible that he should speak out (*a*) to honour a prior undertaking to Heracles and (*b*), when the time comes, to save Thetis. For the dramatic presentation of an amorous pursuit the poet had a model in Aeschylus' *Supplices*. The singing actor who had been Io in *Desm.* would now appear as Thetis, voicing her distress in lyrics much as before. In terms of composition, the Thetis scene may have been prior to the Io scene. After some dialogue between Thetis and Prometheus, Hermes would arrive, imperious as the Egyptian herald in *Supplices*, demanding Thetis for Zeus. Prometheus would now at last play his trump, letting out the old oracle about Thetis' child through a passage of stichomythia.

Exit Hermes to report to Zeus. Stasimon. Final scene in which Prometheus receives compensation (cf. *PV* 176) in the form of honours to be paid to him in future by men, in particular at Athens, where regular torch-races will commemorate his bringing of fire.[83] It is also laid down that in memory of his bondage he will henceforth wear a crown.[84] On the Apulian vase painting mentioned earlier (n. 68) we see this crown being brought to him by Athena, and it is likely enough that it was she who came in this closing scene to announce his reward.

As for Thetis—the other female figure on the vase?—it is decreed that she shall marry Peleus: her son shall be mightier than his father indeed, a glorious hero, but not mightier than Zeus, whose regime is now secure for ever. The Titans will return to the Isles of the Blest, never to be seen on earth again. *Exeunt omnes*, Athena perhaps by air to Olympus, the Titans celebrating the power and wisdom of Zeus in their final anapaests.

[83] Cf. Hyg. *Astr.* 2. 15. 2. On the Attic Promethia see L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896–1909), v. 378 ff.; Wilamowitz, *Aisch. Int.*, 142–4; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932), 211 f.; W. Kraus, *RE* xxiii. 654 f.

[84] Ath. 674d = fr. 202. Cf. 'Prob.' on Virg. *Ec.* 6. 42, Hyg. *Astr.* 2. 15. 4. Athenaeus and Hyginus treat this as the aition for festive wreaths in general. Athenaeus has earlier quoted a passage of Menodotus (*FGrHist* 541 F 1) according to which Prometheus' wreath was of withy, and so perhaps in Aeschylus' *Sphinx* fr. 235. Artistic representations show him with a diadem or a wreath of bay or willow even before his release: L. Eckhart, *RE* xxiii. 707 f., 712, 719 f. Apollod. 2. 5. 11. 10 says (Heracles) τὸν Προμηθέα ἔλυσε, δεσμὸν ἑλόμενος τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας, which seems to be confused. Several authors say also that Prometheus put on an iron finger-ring with a piece of the rock set in it ('Prob.', Hyg.; Plin. *HN* 33. 8, 37. 2), but this is not ascribed to 'Aeschylus', and Hyginus implies that his authority for the ring did not mention the crown.

So much for the probable action of the play. But there is still a good deal to be said about Heracles' travels and how the poet's idea of them relates to tradition.

As Erytheia was located beyond Ocean from at least the eighth century, Heracles' journey there—and his journey to the Hesperides, when that became an independent story—provided poets and prose writers who wished to compile connected accounts of his adventures with an all-embracing frame in which to set any exploits that lay outside the ordinary Greek orbit. Thus those Pontic Greeks who traced the Scythian peoples back to a union between Heracles and Echidna (Hdt. 4. 8–10) said that he met her on his way back from the land of Geryones, only they |[145] made this more plausible by placing Geryones ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, i.e. somewhere in the north or north-east.[85] We have seen that Stesichorus had told the tale of the Centaurs' drinking-party, at which Heracles accidentally shot Chiron, in his *Geryoneis*, and perhaps other incidental exploits too.[86]

Of particular relevance to *Ly.* is the detailed narrative of Heracles' peregrinations compiled by an Athenian logographer of the mid fifth century, Pherecydes.[87] In his second book Pherecydes gave the following account of the hero's quest for the golden apples. Certain 'Nymphs of Zeus and Themis'[88] dwelling in a cave by the Eridanus showed him where and how to catch Nereus, who, after vainly trying to escape by changing into all kinds of forms, told him the way to the Hesperides. He arrived at Tartessus—almost at his journey's end? No: from there he crossed over to Libya, where he killed Antaios, and continued to Memphis, where he killed Busiris, and to Arabia, where he killed Emathion. Then he went up the Nile, through the mountains of Abyssinia, into the furthest wastes of Africa, clearing it of wild beasts. Reaching Ocean in the far south, he embarked in the Sun's golden cup. Surely now he is about to find the Hesperides? No again: he sails east to the Caucasus, and in response to Prometheus' entreaties kills the eagle that plagues him. He also answers

[85] It seems to be Herodotus who attaches the conventional location by Cadiz.

[86] J. Vürtheim, *Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie* (Leiden 1919), 20, goes much too far in inferring that the poem was 'eine ganze Heraklea' in which 'sämtliche Taten des Herakles werden vor Augen geführt'.

[87] Frr. 16–17, 75–6, 7 Fowler ~ Apollod. 2. 5. 11.

[88] Zeus and Themis are the parents of the Horai and Moirai in Hes. *Th.* 901–6.

Prometheus' need of a god to die in his place by 'providing' Zeus with Chiron, whom he had shot in an earlier escapade (above, p. 273). Prometheus rewards him with a new load of advice about the golden apples. He should go to Atlas, who is located in the far north, and get him to fetch the apples for him while he himself supports the sky. Heracles does this. Atlas tries to leave him permanently holding the sky, but Heracles induces him to take it back, using a ruse taught him by the foresighted Prometheus. He then returns to Mycenae with the apples.

It is obvious that this preposterous concatenation of events is the result of a two-stage expansion from a much simpler story. Twice Heracles seems about to reach the Hesperides, and twice they are withdrawn to a more remote location. In the original story, adapted from Stesichorus,[89] the Hesperides' isle is near Tartessus. The first expansion removes it (and the journey in the Sun's cup) to the southern Ocean, enabling the African adventures to be brought in; this corresponds to the version of Panyassis, cf. fr. 11 West (Busiris), 15 (Hesperides located *qua cedunt medii longe secreta diei.*[90] The second expansion, no doubt due to Pherecydes himself, brings in Prometheus and Atlas and transfers the Hesperides to the far north, because Atlas is now located under the Pole about which the stars revolve.[91] Heracles no longer has to cross to the Hesperids' isle himself or kill the serpent, because Atlas gets the apples for him.

In *Ly.* as in Pherecydes, the traditional eagle-shooting is placed in the context of the journey to the Hesperides, in despite of geography; Prometheus gives Heracles directions; and Chiron is found willing to die in Prometheus' place. It cannot be supposed that these coincidences between two approximately contemporary Athenian publications are fortuitous. I cannot see anything to be said for postulating yet a third work containing these details as a common source. It is after all likely that the Prometheus poet, with his

[89] For Nereus see Paradox. Vat. 32 p. 340 Giannini (=S16a, *PMGF* p. 160) *παρ' Ὁμήρωι Πρωτεὺς εἰς πάντα μετεμορφοῦτο, καθὰ Θέτις παρὰ Πινδάρωι καὶ Νηρεὺς παρὰ Στησιχόρωι καὶ Μήστρα.* The episode is shown on vases from the early sixth century.

[90] Avien. *Phaen.* 179, 'where the unknown south retreats', never allowing the traveller to find its limits. Not understood by V. Matthews, *Panyassis of Halikarnassos* (Leiden 1974), 70.

[91] Cf. Critias, *TrGF* 43 F 3. 5 (the two Bears *τὸν Ἀτλάντειον τηροῦσι πόλον*); Eur. *HF* 403 *οὐρανοῦ θ' ὑπὸ μέσσαν . . . ἕδραν.*

encyclopaedic interest in mythology, had direct knowledge of Pherecydes' work if it was published first, or, if not, that Pherecydes was present when the trilogy was performed. In short, one surely drew upon the other. Which upon which?

I do not think certainty is attainable, but a number of considerations can be adduced in favour of the priority of Pherecydes.

(i) The common features in question reflect the approach of a mythographer, of someone who strings myths together in a continuous narrative. Heracles' visit to Prometheus is seen as part of the story of a particular Labour; and Prometheus' exchange of death with Chiron, with whom he l[146] has no other connection, is the invention of a storyteller whose Heracles narrative encompassed both Pholos' party and Prometheus' liberation.

(ii) To make Heracles encounter Prometheus on his way to the Hesperides was more natural for Pherecydes, whose Heracles is coming from the far south and heading for the far north, than for the tragedian, who has him heading for the far west and would have had to invent *ad hoc* an explanation of his presence in Scythia.

(iii) The advice which Heracles received from Prometheus in Pherecydes concerned the method of getting the apples and tricking Atlas, and was thus in keeping with Prometheus' essential nature as the clever, foresighted one. In *Ly.*, so far as we can see, Prometheus merely functioned as an oracle and had no practical devices to impart. It is unlikely that the tricking of Atlas appeared, since Atlas is represented as Prometheus' brother by whose fate he is deeply grieved (*PV* 347–50).

Pherecydes' *floruit* is given by Eusebius as 456/5; Jacoby writes 'der ionische Dialekt . . . weist ihn doch wohl vor den Peloponnesischen Krieg'. I would advance two reasons for thinking that the part of his work that concerns us was composed after the date given by Eusebius. The first is to do with the ruse by which Heracles gets Atlas to take the sky back again: he asks him just to take it for a moment while he arranges a σπεῖρα, a carrying-pad, on his head. As a specimen of Greek trickery this does not strike us as very inspired; only an imbecile would have been taken in by it. I suspect that it is an autoschediasm of Pherecydes', and that the pad was suggested to him by that metope of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, completed in time for the games of 456, which shows Atlas bringing the apples to Heracles, who stands supporting the sky with the help of a large

pad or bolster.[92] The sculptor evidently knew the version of the Hesperides story that Pherecydes followed, in so far as it is Atlas who fetches the apples, but he does not know Pherecydes' story of Atlas' attempt to remain free and Heracles' trick, for Atlas is offering him the apples in an eager and helpful manner,[93] and Heracles is already using a pad. The new temple and its sculptures must have been scrutinized with interest by every visitor to the Olympic games in 456, 452, and subsequently. There are few works of art outside Athens that Pherecydes is more likely to have examined.

My second reason is that Pherecydes' account of Heracles' progress towards the Hesperides appears, as we have seen, to be built upon Panyassis'. Panyassis probably died in the 450s.[94] His *Herakleia* may have been completed some time before. But an epic by a Halicarnassian noble which never achieved real popularity would not automatically become widely known across the Aegean within a few years. Who brought it to Athens? Who more likely than the poet's cousin (or nephew) Herodotus, likewise a man of letters, banished by the same tyrant, and known to have been in Athens around 445?[95] If so, Pherecydes' Book 2 is not earlier than the 440s.

THE DATE OF THE TRILOGY

The results of the various stylistic, metrical, and dramaturgical studies of *Desm.* assembled by Griffith strongly suggest that it belongs to a stage in the development of Attic tragedy which was not reached for a decade or two after Aeschylus' death. In many respects it has more in common with the techniques of extant Sophocles and Euripides than with those of Aeschylus. It would be hazardous to base a dating on such observations alone, even though a large

[92] Illustrated e.g. in H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympia: Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte* (Munich 1972), pl. 57; J. Boardman, *Greek Art* (4th ed., London 1996), 138 fig. 128.

[93] Similarly on a white-ground lekythos by the Athena Painter, Athens 1132: C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figure Lekythoi* (Paris 1936), pl. 47. 3; Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London 1974), fig. 252.

[94] See Matthews, op. cit. 12–19, with my qualifications in *CPh* 71 (1976), 172–4.

[95] For this visit see Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. ii. 226–9, 233–42, 247. Lygdamis' tyranny belongs to the 450s (Matthews 16 f.), and Herodotus was in Halicarnassus for a time after its fall (*Suda*; Jacoby 225).

number of separate criteria point in the same direction. But other considerations lead to a dating fully consistent with them.

A *terminus ante quem* of 430 is given by Cratinus' *Ploutoi*, probably produced at the Lenaia in 429 (n. 65).

The poet was something of a polymath, with an interest in mythology of the synoptic kind as represented by Hesiodic poetry and the logographers and in geography, ethnography, and the l[147] history of culture. He was well versed in contemporary and older literature. A survey of the authors that are or may be used by him will help to define the *terminus post quem*.

(*a*) Hesiod. No earlier poet appears so imbued with the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. They provide him not just with the Prometheus myth but with the Titanomachy, the oracular Gaia, the figures of Kratos and Bia, and incidental details such as Memory as mother of the Muses (*PV* 461) and the alleviation of human misery by Hope (250).

(*b*) Aristeas, *Arimaspeia*. See J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, 44–64.

(*c*) The *Titanomachy* ascribed to Eumelus. See *JHS* 122 (2002), 113 f. [= *Hellenica* i. 360 f.].

(*d*) Acusilaus of Argos. This logographer (fr. 34 Fowler) would seem to be the source for Prometheus' marriage to the Oceanid Hesione (*PV* 559).

(*e*) Aeschylus. He naturally knows Aeschylus' plays, and imitates some of the more obvious features of his style. He is particularly likely to have been influenced by *Prometheus Pyrkaeus*. This satyr play appears to have inspired several vase paintings in the period 440–20, and Beazley suggested that it had recently been revived.[96]

(*f*) Pindar. The Typhon passage *PV* 351–72 is certainly dependent on *Pyth.* 1. 15–28 (470 BCE); the unusual metaphor ἰπούμενος in 365 may come from *Ol.* 4. 7 (456 BCE), if not from some parallel passage in a lost poem. *Pyth.* 4. 291 (462 BCE) is our only source apart from *Ly.* for Zeus' release of the Titans collectively. The myth of the prophecy about Thetis comes from *Isth.* 8. 26 ff. (478 BCE) or from some epic which Pindar has closely followed.[97]

[96] *AJA* 43 (1939), 618 f.; 44 (1940), 212. Cf. F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele* (2nd ed., Berlin 1959), 45–9.

[97] Weil, op. cit. 75; Wilamowitz, *Aisch. Int.*, 133.

(*g*) Protagoras. The poet's picture of the evolution of human civilization, with the gift of fire by Prometheus leading to the growth of arts and crafts (*PV* 110, 254, 442 ff.), is most closely paralleled in the myth that Plato puts in the mouth of Protagoras (*Prot.* 320c ff., 321d), which is generally agreed to follow the lines of Protagoras' own work περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως.[98] Accounts of man's progress from a beastlike condition and of his development of technical skills appear in several tragedians and other writers from the second half of the fifth century and nowhere earlier.[99] It is likely that this conception originated in a particular sophist's account—Protagoras'. If we may trust the indications in Plato's dialogue, Protagoras visited Athens for the first time in the 440s (or late 450s) and for the second time in about 433.[100] The second date is too late to account for the *Antigone* chorus. If our premises are correct, then, Protagoras promulgated his Prometheus culture-myth at Athens sometime between 452 and 442.

(*h*) Pherecydes of Athens. See above. This is another source that seems to bring us down to the 440s.

(*i*) Sophocles. Many parallels of expression have been noted between *Desm.* and Sophocles.[101] They are particularly frequent in *Ajax* and *Antigone*, suggesting that the Prometheus trilogy may be near in date to those plays. Of course, for any given instance there may have been many more parallels in lost plays; but that consideration does not alter the significance of the concentration of instances, within the extant Sophoclean plays, in two which are generally regarded as close to each other in date. In no case is it possible to demonstrate that one passage is directly inspired by the other. There are, however, four cases where it seems to me that Sophocles uses a phrase in a more natural and spontaneous way than the Prometheus poet, and none of a contrary kind:

Tr. 1095 ἱπποβάμονα στρατόν ~ *PV* 804 f. στρατόν . . . ἱππο-βάμονα. In Sophocles of the Centaurs who *walk as* horses, in *PV* of the Arimaspoi who *ride on* horses.

[98] See W. K. C. Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge 1962–81), iii. 63 ff.

[99] Soph. *Ant.* 332 ff., Eur. *Supp.* 201–13, Critias *TrGF* 43 F 19, etc.; Guthrie iii. 79 ff.; E. R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress* (Oxford 1973), 7 ff. The twentieth Homeric Hymn is undated, but probably of the same period.

[100] *Prot.* 310e: Hippocrates was a child the first time, and is still νεώτερος, whereas Socrates was old enough to have become acquainted with him the first time.

[101] W. Aly, *Rh. Mus.* 68 (1913), 539 n. 1; Schmid 17 f.; Groeneboom on *PV* 644; Griffith 296 n. 13.

Aj. 227 *ὤιμοι φοβοῦμαι τὸ προσέρπον* ~ *PV* 127 *πᾶν μοι φοβερὸν τὸ προσέρπον.*

Aj. 447 f. *κεἰ μὴ τόδ' ὄμμα καὶ φρένες διάστροφοι | γνώμης ἀπῆιξαν τῆς ἐμῆς* ~ *PV* 673 f. *εὐθὺς δὲ μορφὴ καὶ φρένες διάστροφοι | ἦσαν.* Less natural as a predicate.

Ant. 492 *λυσσῶσαν ... οὐδ' ἐπήβολον φρενῶν* ~ *PV* 443 f. *νηπίους ὄντας τὸ πρίν | ἔννους ἔθηκα καὶ φρενῶν ἐπήβολους.* An odd sense for the phrase.

One may say that this is merely evidence of Sophocles' superiority as a poet; but I submit that it creates a presumption that, if the Prometheus trilogy is close in date to *Ajax* and *Antigone* and shares phraseology with them for that reason, the priority belongs to Sophocles. *Antigone* is I[148] datable to 441 or 440, *Ajax* is usually put not long before it. *Trachiniae* is now thought by many to be earlier still.

A dating of the Prometheus trilogy shortly after *Antigone* would fit perfectly with the inferences previously drawn regarding the poet's use of Protagoras and Pherecydes. It will also be recalled that earlier an entirely separate line of reasoning, from the form of the theatre presupposed by *Desm.*, led to the conclusion that it could hardly have been conceived as it stands except in the transitional period between *c.*445 and *c.*435.

There may have been a particular stimulus to compose a Prometheus trilogy about 440, apart from the interest aroused by Protagoras' theory of civilization. A magnificent new temple of Hephaestus had just been completed above the agora.[102] There must have been a dedication ceremony at which fire was kindled on the altar for the first time—holy fire specially brought from a pure source, another altar, by runners. The occasion called for a torch-race. Such races were a feature of several Athenian festivals, and probably already established in the cult of Hephaestus.[103] At the Promethia the teams lit their torches at Prometheus' altar in the Academia and raced through the Ceramicus to some goal in the city. As Prometheus and Hephaestus are connected in worship in the Academia, and the connection is reflected in our trilogy—

[102] The Hephaesteum is believed to have been begun *c.*449 and to have been completed in the late 440s, but an exact date cannot be given.

[103] See Frazer on Paus. 1. 30. 2; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 212 f.

Hephaestus was robbed by Prometheus in *Pyrph.*, felt sympathy for him in *Desm.* because of τὸ συγγενὲς ἢ θ' ὁμιλία, and must have been united in honour with him at the end—it is not unlikely that the runners in the Promethia finished at an altar of Hephaestus, or that at the time of the dedication of the new temple a new race was instituted, or an existing one newly regulated, to bring its holy fire from the old altar of Prometheus.[104] Such an occasion might well give the cue for a revival of Aeschylus' thirty-year-old satyr play *Prometheus Pyrkaeus*, as well as for the composition of a tragic trilogy on the Prometheus story which culminated in the establishment of the Promethia and the striking of the balance between Prometheus and Hephaestus.

POSTSCRIPT 2004

The foregoing paper was published in 1979. As I noted in the opening paragraph, I was then in the hebdomad of life which Solon (fr. 27. 11) associated with the attainment of intellectual maturity. I am now in the one at whose completion, according to the same authority, death would not be premature. But I have not rewritten the paper from the changed vantage-point of the early twenty-first century. I have merely retouched it in a few places and updated references to ancient sources. I have not taken issue with more recent secondary literature. I would, however, draw attention to the important book by Robert Bees, *Zur Datierung des Prometheus Desmotes* (Stuttgart 1993). He comes to similar conclusions to mine about the date of the drama, and he makes a persuasive case for the playwright's familiarity with the work of Herodotus, who ought therefore to be added to my list of the authors he knew.

I have built on the present paper in two further essays, which I commend to the reader's notice. In the third chapter of my *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart 1990) I have developed additional arguments against Aeschylus' authorship of the Prometheus trilogy and given reasons for ascribing it to his son Euphorion. In a subsequent article

[104] Some kind of reorganization of the torch-race at the Hephaestia in 421/0 is attested by *IG* 1^3. 82, but the inscription is not well preserved.

entitled '*Iliad* and *Aethiopis* on the Stage: Aeschylus and Son' (*CQ* 50 (2000), 338–52 [=above, Chapter 19]) I have argued that Euphorion was also responsible for parts of the Memnon trilogy, namely the *Psychostasia* (or at least its opening and closing scenes) and the *Europa*, and that he may have had something to do with the spurious ending of the *Seven against Thebes*.

21

Ancestral Curses

The Greek word for 'curse' is ἀρά or ἐπαρά or κατάρα. This suggests that a curse is a sort of prayer, ἀρή being one of the ordinary Homeric words for a prayer. It is still found with that general sense in Pindar and Herodotus, though in the fifth century it has mostly become specialized in the sense of 'curse'. A curse is a prayer that harm may befall someone.

But it is not as simple as that. Already in Homer we can see a distinction between a simple prayer for someone's harm and the curse proper. When at the outset of the *Iliad* Chryses prays to Apollo that the Danaans may pay the price for the distress they have caused him by taking his daughter, we cite this as a fine illustration of Greek prayer form, and we do not at all think of it as a curse. It stands in clear contrast to the two parental cursings recalled in Book 9: the one where Phoenix's father Amyntor invoked the Erinyes to see to it that Phoenix should never have a son, and his prayers were answered by Zeus of the Underworld and Persephone;[1] and the other where Meleager's mother prayed to the gods for his death, crouching and sobbing and beating the earth with her hands as she called upon Hades and Persephone, and the pitiless Erinys heard her prayer from Erebos.[2] In both these cases the Erinyes, the powers of vengeance, and the gods of the Underworld are involved.

J. Griffin (ed.), *Sophocles Revisited. Essays presented to Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford 1999), 31–45. References are listed at the end of the chapter.

[1] *Il.* 9. 454–7, πολλὰ κατηρᾶτο, στυγερὰς δ' ἐπεκέκλετ' Ἐρινῦς, | μή ποτε γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἱόν | ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα· θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαράς, | Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια.

[2] *Il.* 9. 566–72, ἐξ ἀρέων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος, ἥ ῥα θεοῖσιν | πόλλ' ἀχέουσ' ἠρᾶτο κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο, | πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοία | κικλήσκουσ' Ἄϊδην καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν | πρόχνυ καθεζομένη, δεύοντο

I[32] The connection between curses and Erinyes is easy to understand. Most curses are uttered by someone who has been wronged and who has no immediate means of redress. The Erinys is the divine agent of vengeance who can be summoned in aid, or who is automatically called into life by the wrong, while the curse is the direct evocation of punishment for the wrongdoer. The two concepts are readily combined, so that the Erinys is thought of as the agent who brings the curse to fulfilment. When Antinoos hurls a footstool at the beggar who is Odysseus, Odysseus says, 'if beggars have gods and Erinyes, may death catch Antinoos before he marries'.[3] The curse itself may be conceived as a supernatural force which operates independently of other agencies, taking on the function of the avenger. Hence the Erinyes in Aeschylus can say to Athena, 'We are agelong children of Night, and in our home below the earth we are called Curses'.[4]

Gods of the upper world can also be invoked in curses. In the episode of the *Odyssey* which I have just quoted, Penelope hears what has happened and exclaims, addressing Antinoos though out of his earshot, 'Would that Apollo the archer would hit you likewise!' There is a fragment of Hipponax in which two people, probably a young man and a girl, are furious with each other. He says, 'Artemis destroy you!', and she retorts, 'And Apollo you!' *ἀπό σ' ὀλέσειεν Ἄρτεμις.—σὲ δὲ κὠπόλλων.*[5] Very often such imprecations do not specify a divine agent at all: one simply says *ἀπόλοιο*. There is still an analogy here with a prayer, because that too can take the form of a simple declaration of what one wishes for, without any god being addressed, as when Hipponax says *εἴ μοι γένοιτο παρθένος καλή τε καὶ τέρεινα.*[6] At the same time the idea of the curse as a self-sufficient, quasi-magical procedure is not far away, as if the act of

δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι, | παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον· τῆς δ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς | ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἐρέβεσφιν ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα. Cf. also *Od.* 2. 135, where Telemachus fears his mother's curse if he sends her away against her will.

[3] *Od.* 17. 475 f.

[4] Aesch. *Eum.* 416 f., *ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν Νυκτὸς αἰανῆ τέκνα, | Ἀραὶ δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαὶ κεκλήμεθα.* Cf. *Sept.* 70, *Ἀρά τ' Ἐρινὺς πατρὸς ἡ μεγασθενής*; *Cho.* 406, where Orestes calls on the powerful *Ἀραί* of the dead (i.e. of Agamemnon) to take note of the present dismal situation of Atreus' line; ibid. 692, *ὦ δυσπάλαιστε τῶνδε δωμάτων Ἀρά*; Parker (1983), 196.

[5] *Od.* 17. 494; Hipponax fr. 25 West = 35 Degani.

[6] Hipponax fr. 119 W. = 120 Deg.

pronouncing the proper formula may set in motion the process that will lead to the effect desired.

People who uttered curses or wrote *defixiones* must often have |[33] been disappointed. Here we must take note of an important difference between the prayers or curses of real life (or realistic fiction) and those of myth. In real life the Greeks are well aware that the fulfilment of a prayer of any kind is entirely at the discretion of the divinity. Man proposes, God disposes. This is reflected in Homeric narrative. When Chryses prays that the Greeks may suffer, Apollo hearkens to his prayer and takes prompt action. But when Theano prays to Athena on behalf of the Trojans, 'Lady Athena, guardian of the city, smash Diomedes' spear, and grant that he falls dead before the Skaian Gates', Athena nods backwards, meaning 'No'.[7] In myth, on the other hand—and we must be clear that those Homeric prayers are not part of the myth of the Trojan War, but inorganic elements in a poetic narrative constructed over the myth—in myth prayers and curses, like oracles and prophecies, are invariably fulfilled, because they are parts of a working mechanism, and they have to work. When Apollo pursues Daphne, and she flees to avoid a fate worse than being turned into a tree, she prays to Zeus for deliverance, and the merciful god administers a metamorphosis that does not extinguish Apollo's love but transmutes it from the carnal mode to the horticultural. Daphne's prayer is a functional element in the myth, and it can only be functional if it is answered; a prayer that was not answered would have been pointless. So too with curses. It was part of the myth of the sons of Oedipus, at least as early as the epic *Thebaid*, that their father was angry with them and cursed them, to the effect that they should not divide their patrimony in amity but by the sword. And so it had to be; the curse was inexorable.

I say it was part of the myth 'at least as early as the epic *Thebaid*', because myths develop and can be remodelled with an altered mechanism. There might have been an earlier form of the myth in which it was simply related that Polynices and Eteocles quarrelled over the division of their inheritance and fought and killed one another. The motif that they were doomed to do so by their father's curse enhances the story but is not essential to it, and may well have been a secondary elaboration. We shall see how such developments can occur.

[7] *Il.* 1. 35–43; 6. 304–11.

Let us now consider inherited or ancestral curses. These have played an important role in the interpretation of tragedy, but the I[34] discussion has been bedevilled by looseness of conception, or at any rate of terminology. Critics have often spoken of an inherited curse when what they mean is inherited guilt, or some kind of genetic corruption, or persistent but unexplained adversity. Let us keep these things distinct.

What do we mean by an inherited curse? We mean a curse, pronounced by somebody, whose effects continue to afflict not only the immediate victim but also his descendants. Why should it? There are two possibilities in myth. One is that the original victim has the status of a prototype: he is the eponym of a people, or in some other way he stands as the representative of all who will follow him, so that his destiny determines theirs. When God discovered that Adam and Eve had been beguiled by the serpent into eating of the forbidden fruit, he pronounced curses on the lot of them. 'Because you have done this,' said God to the serpent,

> cursed are you above all cattle,
> and above all wild animals;
> upon your belly you shall go,
> and dust you shall eat
> all the days of your life.

To the woman he said,

> I will greatly multiply your pain in childbearing;
> in pain you shall bring forth children.

And to Adam he said,

> Cursed is the ground because of you;
> in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life;
> thorns and thistles it shall bring forth to you;
> and you shall eat the plants of the field.[8]

All serpents, all women, and all men consequently suffer these inconveniences, inherited from their prototypes. When Noah lay drunk and dishevelled in his tent, and then discovered that his youngest son, Ham the father of Canaan, had observed his nakedness and gigglingly reported it to Shem and Japheth, he said

[8] Genesis 3: 14–18 (quoted after the Revised Standard Version).

> Cursed be Canaan;
> a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers.[9]

I[35] Because of Noah's curse the peoples of Canaan were doomed to be subject to the people descended from Shem and Japheth.

The other reason why a curse may affect the victim's descendants as well as himself is that the curser may specify so explicitly. In a world where one of people's major concerns was for their sons to maintain and enhance the family's wealth and status, and thus their own fame, the infliction of hardship on one's enemy's descendants, or the prevention of his having any, was a cruel blow. And in a world where sons were expected to avenge wrongs done to their fathers, it was in the curser's interests to guard against danger from his victim's sons.

Let me quote an example from the eighteenth century BCE. Hammurabi, king of Babylon, concludes the epilogue to his great Law-code with a lengthy series of curses on any future king or official who alters his statutes or effaces Hammurabi's name. Here is one of them:

> May the great gods of heaven and earth,
> the Annunakku in their totality,
> the Guardian Spirit of the temple, the Brickwork of Ebabbar,
> curse him, his descendants, his land, his soldiers,
> his people, and his army, with a morbid curse![10]

Similarly in the treaty between the Hittite king Mursili II and Duppi-Teššub of Amurru:

> Should Duppi-Teššub not honour these words of the treaty and the oath, may these gods of the oath destroy Duppi-Teššub together with his person, his wife, his son, his grandson, his house, his land and together with everything that he owns.[11]

Such provisions are typical of Near Eastern treaty oaths. The parties to a treaty, in swearing their oaths, lay conditional curses upon themselves, to take effect in the event of their failing to uphold the terms. The extension of the curses to cover the oath-taker's descendants is matched in the Greek oath *κατ' ἐξώλειαν*. Inscriptions and the orators provide many examples of such oaths, in which one

[9] Genesis 9: 20–5.
[10] Code of Hammurabi, li. 70 ff.
[11] Friedrich (1926: 24 § 21); trans. A. Goetze in *ANET* 205.

had to pray for destruction for oneself and one's whole family and house in case of violation.[12]

Apart from oaths and treaties, other curses too often included the
|[36] victim's family in their scope. So, for example, in the public imprecations pronounced annually by magistrates at Teos and recorded in an inscription of perhaps *c.*470 BCE: they are directed against anyone who uses *φάρμακα δηλητήρια* against the Teians, interferes with the import of corn, resists the authorities, betrays the city, practises piracy or highway robbery, or conspires with Greek or barbarian against Teos. The curse on each of these categories of malefactor is that he may perish, himself and his *γένος*. The motif can be followed down to the late Jewish tomb inscription which stipulates that any grave-violator shall be afflicted, together with his children, his descendants, and his whole family, by 'all the curses in the Book of Deuteronomy'.[13]

What is the role of the inherited curse in myth? In the case of the first of the two types I distinguished, the type where the victim of the curse is a prototype figure, its role is aetiological. It serves to account for permanent affliction or diminished status affecting a tribe, a sex, or a zoological species. In the case of the other type, it serves to make a link between the disasters which, according to tradition, affected a particular family in successive generations.

The paradigm case is that of the house of Atreus. In the generation of Atreus and Thyestes there arose a pernicious quarrel between the two brothers over the kingship. Atreus claimed it after a golden lamb was discovered in his flocks. Thyestes seduced Atreus' wife and got possession of the animal. He announced that the throne was now his, and vowed that he would never surrender it so long as the sun continued to rise in the west and set in the east. Zeus upset his calculations by reversing the sun's course. Atreus seized power again, murdered Thyestes' children, and tricked him into eating portions of them. One child survived, however. Aegisthus.

Atreus' son Agamemnon succeeded to the throne. He led the Achaeans against Troy, and in the process found it necessary to put his daughter Iphigeneia to death. While he was abroad, Aegisthus, having now become a man and put away childish things, seduced

[12] References in Parker (1983), 186 n. 234; 201; cf. my note on Hes. *Op.* 284.

[13] Meiggs–Lewis (1988), no. 30; *MAMA* 6. 335 (Lattimore (1962), 114); further references in Parker, loc. cit.

Clytaemestra, Agamemnon's wife, and they conspired to murder him. The royal power thus reverted for some years to Thyestes' line. But then Agamemnon's son Orestes appeared on the scene and, in [37] concert with his sister Electra, assassinated Aegisthus and Clytaemestra. Atreus' line thus finally triumphed.

Here is a dynastic saga of murders and other atrocities extending over three generations. Was there a thread linking them all together? One answer might be 'revenge'. In real life the vendetta can sustain a series of murders and counter-murders over generations. Orestes is certainly motivated by the urge to avenge his father, and Aeschylus represents Aegisthus as a conscious avenger of the wrong done to his father by Atreus.[14] However, in our earliest source, the *Odyssey*, there is no reference to this: Aegisthus appears to kill Agamemnon simply because he wants him out of the way so that he can keep Clytaemestra. The story was told more fully in the epic *Nostoi*, but the action of that poem was set at the end of the Trojan War: the tale of Atreus and Thyestes had no place in it, and we have no right to assume that any back-reference was made to it.

The fact is that it is not typical of epic to move across generations, and even less to make connections between events in different generations. So long as epic was the principal vehicle of the myths, we should not particularly expect the story of Atreus and Thyestes to be seen as belonging in a chain with the story of Agamemnon, or a causal link to be made. Such a linkage was more likely to appear with the more synoptic approach to mythology that we find in fifth-century lyric, tragedy, and the logographers. In particular we may think of the Aeschylean connected trilogy, in which successive plays dealt with a set of events which could be regarded as forming a series. The process of constructing a trilogy from these events naturally favoured the drawing and tightening of links between them. In certain cases the trilogy might cover successive generations, as in Aeschylus' *Oidipodeia*. We do not know that anyone ever dealt with the Thyestes story, the murder of Agamemnon, and Orestes' revenge within one trilogy, but the thing is at least conceivable.

At any rate it is in Aeschylus that we first meet the motif of the inherited curse linking these events. Aegisthus relates in the *Agamemnon* how Thyestes, on realizing that his children were in the stew, got into a stew himself, kicked the table over, and voiced a

[14] Aesch. *Ag.* 1223, 1582–1611.

crisp curse to the effect that the whole race of Pleisthenes should be overthrown likewise.[15] Earlier in the play Cassandra has seen visions |[38] of the Thyestean banquet, which gives the house the character of a charnel-house. But she has also detected the presence of a permanently resident band of Erinyes, drunk on blood, who cleave to the house and sing of Thyestes' adultery with his brother's wife as the *πρώταρχος ἄτη*.[16] This suggests that the curse at the banquet was not after all of unique importance as the link holding the saga together: the Erinyes, the spirits of the vendetta, were already established from the moment when Thyestes bedded Atreus' wife. The curse is introduced subsequently as an auxiliary unifying motif.

Aeschylus twice refers to the family as Pelopids (and once as Tantalids), but he does not trace its troubles back to Pelops' time. By the end of the fifth century, however, the motif of the inherited curse had been taken back to Pelops. The story went that Pelops, to win Hippodameia, defeated her father Oenomaus in a chariot-race with the help of Oenomaus' mechanic, Myrtilus, who sabotaged his master's vehicle so that it crashed. Pelops made off with the girl and Myrtilus, but presently disposed of the latter by throwing him out of the chariot into the sea. As he disappeared into the wine-dark waves, Myrtilus cried a curse on Pelops' family. We know that the drowning was related by the mythographer Pherecydes, who may also have been the source for the curse. In any case Euripides refers to it in the *Orestes* and makes it the origin of the family's troubles. Sophocles too traces them back to the drowning of Myrtilus, and although he does not speak explicitly of a curse uttered by Myrtilus, it is surely what he had in mind.[17]

Hellanicus had a different story of a Pelopid curse. According to him, when Pelops married Hippodameia he already had a son by a previous wife. The son's name was Chrysippus, and Pelops was very fond of him. Atreus and Thyestes, Hippodameia's eldest sons, were jealous of Chrysippus and murdered him. Pelops found out that they were the culprits and banished the pair of them with a curse to the

[15] Aesch. *Ag.* 1600–2, *μόρον δ' ἄφερτον Πελοπίδαις ἐπεύχεται, | λάκτισμα δείπνου ξυνδίκως τιθεὶς ἀρᾶι, | οὕτως ὀλέσθαι πᾶν τὸ Πλεισθένους γένος.*

[16] Aesch. *Ag.* 1087–97, 1186–93.

[17] Pherec. fr. 37 Fowler; Eur. *Or.* 988–1012, cf. 1548 (conjectural at *IT* 192); Soph. *El.* 504–15.

effect that they and their descendants should perish at each other's hands. Thucydides also knows Atreus as a killer of Chrysippus.[18]

|[39] Comparison of these different versions makes it clear that the inherited curse was not a fixed, primary element in this mythical complex but an accessory motif that could be fitted in at various points, according to the changing horizons of individual authors.

Let us turn now from the Pelopids to the Labdacids, that other family that suffered a train of sensational disasters extending over three generations: 'das unheilbeladene Labdakidengeschlecht'. Again no epic covered the whole saga: the first part of it was the subject matter of the *Oidipodeia*, the second part that of the *Thebaid*. The first time they were brought together within a single frame, so far as we know, was in Aeschylus' prize-winning trilogy of 467 BCE, consisting of the *Laios*, *Oidipous*, and *Septem*, followed by the satyr-play *Sphinx*. The first play, the *Laios*, presumably centred on the killing of Laios by his unrecognized son Oedipus in the earliest reported instance of what is nowadays called 'road rage'. One of the fragments alludes to the exposure of a baby in a jar, and another to a homicide. From references in the *Septem* we gather that Apollo had warned Laios, not once but three times, that if he wanted Thebes to be secure from danger he should be sure to die childless; but Laios had allowed sensibility to prevail over sense, and fathered a son. The second play, *Oidipous*, will have dealt with Oedipus' discovery that he had killed his father and married his mother. The *Septem* portrays the fatal conflict between Oedipus' sons, whose mutual slaughter signifies the final extinction of the family.

Was there a single thread linking all these events? Were Laios and his descendants doomed by an ancestral curse? There is certainly one curse involved in the story: the one laid by Oedipus upon his sons. As I have mentioned, this goes back to the epic *Thebaid*. In fact it is rather embarrassing that two of the six verbatim fragments from that poem describe Oedipus cursing his sons on different occasions. In one he explodes because Polynices gives him wine in a gold cup that had been Laios', on a silver table that was also a family heirloom. His

[18] Hellanicus fr. 157 F.; cf. Thuc. 1. 9. 2. Praxilla (*PMG* 751) had yet another version of Chrysippus' end: he was abducted by Zeus (cf. Wilamowitz (1880), 611). What is common to the different stories about him is that he was beautiful and died (or disappeared) before marrying. One may guess that he was originally a figure of Peloponnesian local cult, similar to Hippolytus (and with the same horse in his name).

curse is that the two brothers should not divide their inheritance in friendship but fight continually. In the other fragment he takes offence at their sending him a leg of beef instead of [40] their customary shoulder, and he prays to Zeus and the other gods that they may die at each other's hands.[19]

In Aeschylus' version the occasion of the curse fell in the interval between the second and third plays, but the chorus of the *Septem* supplies the information, in terms recalling the epic, that Oedipus' anger was aroused by the way his sons were providing for him.[20] There is much emphasis in the play on this paternal curse as the force that drives Eteocles and Polynices to their deaths.[21] But as to the earlier misfortunes of Laios and Oedipus, there is no hint that these had anything to do with a curse. Aeschylus does indeed endeavour to present the whole saga as flowing from one original *ἀρχὴ κακῶν*, but when the women of the chorus look back to it—'for I tell of an ancient transgression, soon punished, but abiding to the third generation' (742)—they tell us that it was Laios' disregard of Apollo's repeated warnings not to father a son, a disregard due to foolish fondness (*κρατηθεὶς ἐκ φίλων ἀβουλιᾶν*, 750). They go on to emphasize Oedipus' misguidedness in marrying Jocasta, and in cursing his sons; they have previously pointed out to Eteocles that he is in the grip of irrational urges. So what is highlighted as the common factor in the whole story is ill-judged, deluded behaviour, not an ancestral curse. When a Messenger brings the news that the brothers have slain one another, his verdict is that Apollo has brought Laios' old imprudence to its conclusion; and in the following ode the chorus first sings of Oedipus' curse having done its work, but then adds, 'and Laios' disobedient choice has persisted throughout'.[22]

What does Sophocles make of the story? He did not treat it in a connected trilogy, so he was under less pressure to represent it as a connected tale. Nevertheless, in the earliest of his three Theban

[19] *Thebaid* frr. 2–3 W. Cf. Welcker (1849), 333–40; Bethe (1891), 102 f.; Davies (1989), 25 f.

[20] Aesch. *Sept.* 785–90, *τέκνοις δ' †ἀραίας† ἐφῆκεν ἐπίκοτος τροφᾶς, αἰαῖ, πικρογλώσσους ἀράς, καί σφε σιδαρονόμωι διὰ χερί ποτε λαχεῖν κτήματα.*

[21] Ibid. 70, 655, 695–701, 709, 720–33, 766, 819, 832, 840, 886, 894, 898, 946, 955, 977=988.

[22] Ibid. 801 f., *ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων ... Οἰδίπου γένει | κραίνων παλαιὰς Λαΐου δυσβουλίας*; 842 *βουλαὶ δ' ἄπιστοι Λαΐου διήρκεσαν.*

plays, the *Antigone*, he was still sufficiently under the influence of Aeschylus to include a choral retrospect similar to the one in the *Septem*.

[41]	Happy are they whose life has never tasted ills, for when a house is shaken by the gods, ruin unfailing advances through generations . . . Ancient are the woes of the Labdacid house I see breaking on woes of the dead, nor does generation relieve generation: some god batters away, and they have no escape. So now the light beamed over the last shoot in Oedipus's house, but down again it is mown by the bloody sickle of the gods of death, and folly, and the Furies of the heart.

ἀρχαῖα τὰ Λαβδακιδᾶν οἴκων ὁρῶμαι
πήματα φθιτῶν ἐπὶ πήμασι πίπτοντ',
οὐδ' ἀπαλλάσσει γενεὰν γένος, ἀλλ' ἐρείπει
θεῶν τις, οὐδ' ἔχει λύσιν.
νῦν γὰρ ἐσχάτας ὑπὲρ
ῥίζας ἐτέτατο φάος ἐν Οἰδίπου δόμοις·
κατ' αὖ νιν φοινία
θεῶν τῶν νερτέρων ἀμᾶι κοπίς
λόγου τ' ἄνοια καὶ φρενῶν Ἐρινύς.[23]

Later the chorus suggests to Antigone that she is paying for some trial of her father's—πατρῶιον δ' ἐκτίνεις τιν' ἆθλον—and she replies, 'you have touched on my most painful concern—the thrice-ploughed furrow of my father's doom and the fate of our whole Labdacid family'.[24] Neither she nor they know anything of a curse. They only know that the family has suffered a catalogue of disasters, and they can only speculate that 'some god' is set on its destruction.

In *Oedipus Tyrannus* the story begins with the oracle given to Laios, not warning him not to have a son, as in Aeschylus, but informing him that it was his destiny to be killed by his son. Nothing precedes the oracle. The only curse is the one laid by Oedipus on Laios' murderer and on anyone who shelters him; when Teiresias tells Oedipus that 'you will presently be driven out of this land by the

[23] Soph. *Ant.* 582–603. [24] Ibid. 856–62.

double-edged curse of your father and mother', this is vatic language and does not refer to a literal curse uttered by Laios or Jocasta.[25]

1[42] In *Oedipus at Colonus*, as in *Antigone*, the tribulations of the house are contemplated with baffled despair. Oedipus protests that his actions were unintentional errors; he does not see himself as the victim of any curse, but of the gods, who led him into trouble, perhaps (he surmises) because they had some long-standing grudge against the family. Again, the oracle given to Laios is treated as the start of the whole matter, and nothing prior to it is mentioned.[26]

Sophocles, then, is consistent. There is no question of a family curse going back to Laios. From the high incidence of calamities people infer some divine enmity, but they have no explanation to offer for it; they are unaware of any incident that could have provoked it.

Some modern interpreters know better. They aver that both for Aeschylus and for Sophocles Laios and his descendants laboured under an ancestral curse, whether in the proper sense of a curse or in the sense of a divine *μῆνις*; and that the reason for it was Laios' abduction and rape of Pelops' son Chrysippus, who committed suicide. According to certain ancient sources, this did in fact lead Pelops to pronounce a curse on Laios.

How old is the story? A line of scholars going back to Welcker has held that it appeared in the epic *Oidipodeia*, on the basis of an account found in a scholium on the *Phoenissae* and ascribed to one Pisander. Welcker took this Pisander to stand for a Cyclic poet, and Bethe and Wilamowitz claimed the account to be basically a summary of the contents of the *Oidipodeia*. Carl Robert took a much more sceptical view of it as a late piece of mythography drawn from various sources. Jacoby put it with other scholiastic citations of 'Pisander' to the credit of a Hellenistic prose author, and his view is now widely accepted.[27] That text certainly cannot be used as evidence for the presence of the Chrysippus story in the epic *Oidipodeia*.

[25] *OT* 417f. Similarly at Eur. *Phoen.* 1610f., *παῖδάς τ' ἀδελφοὺς ἔτεκον, οὓς ἀπώλεσα, | ἀρὰς παραλαβὼν Λαΐου καὶ παισὶ δούς*, there is no reference to an actual curse by Laios.

[26] *OC* 265–74, 521–48, 960–99, esp. 964f. *θεοῖς γὰρ ἦν οὕτω φίλον, | τάχ' ἄν τι μηνίουσιν ἐς γένος πάλαι*, 969f. (the oracle to Laios), 997f. *τοιαῦτα μέντοι καὐτὸς εἰσέβην κακά, | θεῶν ἀγόντων.*

[27] Welcker (1865), 91–5; Bethe (1891), 4–12; Wilamowitz (1898), 499; id. (1899), 209; cf. id. (1900), 66 n. 1; Robert (1915), i. 149–67; F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* 16 F 10 with commentary and Nachträge (i.[2] 544–7); Mastronarde (1994), 31–8.

As we have seen, there is no hint of it in the surviving dramas of [43]
Aeschylus or Sophocles either. The idea that it formed the subject of Aeschylus' *Laios*[28] is hard to reconcile with the allusion in that play to an exposed child, who must be Oedipus; in any case it does not fit the references to Laios in the *Septem*. The earliest known source for the myth is Euripides' *Chrysippus*. For all we know, Euripides may have invented it. He might have taken his cue from some earlier source, but if so it does not seem to have been much noticed before him. Hellanicus and Thucydides, as we have seen, knew a quite different account of Chrysippus' fate.

It is sometimes thought that Euripides' *Oenomaus* and *Chrysippus* formed a connected trilogy with his *Phoenissae*. They might go well together, but the combination is speculative.[29] In the prologue of the *Phoenissae* Jocasta recites the history of the Labdacids, going right back to Cadmus. When she comes to Laios, the story is just as in Aeschylus. Being childless, he went to consult the oracle, which warned him not to beget a son, because if he did, that son would kill him. But Laios got drunk and yielded to desire. Chrysippus plays no part in her account.

We do not know whether Euripides' *Chrysippus* contained the detail that Pelops laid a curse on Laios following the boy's death.[30] Pelops was a character in the play, so it is quite possible. If so, Euripides might have been supplying *suo Marte* what the Labdacid saga had hitherto lacked, a real hereditary curse analogous to the one that Myrtilus laid on Pelops. However, we should note that only one of the late sources which refer to the curse suggests that Pelops cursed Laios and his descendants. According to the others the curse was that he should not have a son, or that if he did, he would be slain

[28] Lloyd-Jones (1971), 121, after Welcker and others. Criticized by Hutchinson (1985), xxiii; West (1991), 231; Gantz (1993), 491; Mastronarde (1994), 35 f.

[29] See Mastronarde (1994), 36–8.

[30] See Mastronarde (1994), 33 f. Hartung's view that a hypothesis of the play is preserved in [Plut.] *Parall. min.* 33 (313de, = Dositheus *FGrHist* 290 F 6) is very attractive; see Wilamowitz (1893), 179–85. (*Contra*: Robert (1915), i. 410–12; Jacoby (as n. 27).) There Chrysippus is killed (not very efficiently) by Hippodameia, who frames Laios. Pelops is convinced that he is the murderer. But Chrysippus takes some time to die and is able to denounce Hippodameia and exculpate Laios. However, Pelops might have laid his curse on him before the disclosure, and it would then have been too late to revoke it.

by him.[31] In that case the curse merely served to connect the l[44] Chrysippus episode up with the better-known story about Laios. It was fulfilled by Laios' death, and there was no sense in which Oedipus could inherit it.

The idea of the ancestral curse exercises a dangerous fascination. It found its way by stages into myths where it did not originally belong; and interpreters of tragedy have persistently introduced it where it is not present. It has become, so to speak, one of the inherited curses of scholarship.

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[31] Hypotheses to *Septem* and *Phoenissae*: Smith (1972), 3. 16, 7. 2; Mastronarde (1988), 6. 5, 9. 2, 12. 25. The one that suggests an inherited curse is sch. *Phoen.* 60, *φασὶν ὅτι Πέλοψ Χρυσίππου ἁρπαγέντος κατηράσατο μέχρι παίδων εἶναι τὸ κακόν*. The curious formulation looks like a distortion; it is used to explain Euripides' reference to *ὁ πάντ' ἀνατλὰς Οἰδίπους παθήματα*, although there is no mention there of inherited evil.

—— *De tragicorum graecorum fragmentis commentatio* (Göttingen 1893); cited from *Kleine Schriften* i (Berlin 1971), 176–208.
—— 'Über griechische illustrierte Volksbücher', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1898, 228–30; cited from *Kleine Schriften* v(1) (Berlin 1937), 497–501.
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22

Euripides' Critique of Aeschylus: *Electra* 518–46

This notorious scene, in which Electra shoots to pieces the ancient ex-retainer's hopeful suggestions that hair, footprints, or fabric might confirm Orestes' presence in the land, is the subject of a controversy which seems livelier now than ever before.[1] The debate is, broadly speaking, between those who hold that the whole passage was written by Euripides and those who hold that lines 518–44 or a substantial part thereof are interpolated by a botcher. I rather fear that both are right: that the passage is largely interpolated, but by Euripides himself.[2]

The mechanism of Orestes' recognition is governed by the setting of the play. Having elected to locate the action at an isolated country cottage, Euripides is precluded from using at least two of the three tokens that are decisive in the *Choephoroi*, the lock of hair laid on Agamemnon's grave-mound and the footprints nearby. The

From 'Tragica IV', *BICS* 27 (1980), 9–22, at 17–22, with footnotes numbered 20–30.

[1] The main contributions known to me from the last thirty years are: E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus. Agamemnon* (Oxford 1950), iii. 821–6; H. Lloyd-Jones, *CQ* 11 (1961), 177–81 = *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (Oxford 1990), 343–7; A. Vögler, *Vergleichende Studien zur sophokleischen und euripideischen Elektra* (Heidelberg 1967), 168 n. 108; G. W. Bond, *Hermathena* 118 (1974), 1–14; D. Bain, *BICS* 24 (1977), 104–16.

[2] Authors do make insertions in their own works; and it cannot seriously be held that they always do it so skilfully that the insertions are undetectable to subsequent analysis. There seem to me to be certain examples in Hesiod and Homer. See my *Hesiod, Works and Days* (Oxford 1978), 44, 55, 58, 268; W. Schadewaldt, *Iliasstudien* (3rd ed., Darmstadt 1966), *passim*; G. P. Goold, *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977), 1–34. [For Euripides see also below, Chapter 23, and *CPh* 85 (1990), 315 f., on *Phoen.* 774–7 and 1310 ff.]

recognition must be effected on stage, and the hair and the footprints cannot be brought there. Orestes still makes the offerings (90–3), to register his return, and Euripides was naturally unwilling to leave them unnoticed and to sacrifice the dramatic capital to be made from their discovery. The economy of the play does not allow Electra herself to visit the grave. Her farmer husband might have been made to pass it on his way to work, and indeed his discovery of the offerings might have been used to account for his otherwise unexplained early return; but the announcement would have been hard to work in with his meeting with the strangers (341 ff.). It is therefore the next character to appear, the old paidagogos whose essential function is to recognize Orestes, who is made to call at the grave. He is already associated with it in the poet's mind when he is first mentioned at 285–8:

Ηλ. *εἶς ἄν μόνος νιν τῶν ἐμῶν γνοίη φίλων.*
Ορ. *ἆρ' ὃν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐκκλέψαι φόνου;*
Ηλ. *πατρός γε παιδαγωγὸς ἀρχαῖος γέρων.*
Ορ. *ὁ κατθανὼν δὲ σὸς πατὴρ τύμβου κυρεῖ;*

Even the paidagogos could not be expected to be positive about the identity of a young man he had not seen since he was small, or to convince Electra of it, without the conclusive evidence of a scar. The motif is, of course, borrowed from the Euryclea scene in the *Odyssey.*

When the old man enters, therefore, there is a more or less predetermined programme for him. He must identify himself (488) and the things he is bringing for the lunch party (494–9). He must report his surprising discovery at Agamemnon's grave, a slaughtered sheep and a lock of hair of heroic hue (*ξανθῆς*) (501–17). When that has been dealt with, Orestes must come out of the house and be recognized (547–77). To draw up the programme in these terms is not to say that there is no place for anything between 517 and 547, it is merely to establish the essential framework dictated by the plan of the play. Other matter must be seen in relation to this framework.

I[18] Let us imagine that between 517 and 547, instead of what is transmitted, we find a lacuna of indeterminate length.

κἀθαύμασ' ὦ παῖ τίς ποτ' ἀνθρώπων ἔτλη
517 *πρὸς τύμβον ἐλθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ Ἀργείων γέ τις.*
. . . . . .
547 *οἱ δὲ ξένοι ποῦ; βούλομαι γὰρ εἰσιδὼν*
αὐτοὺς ἐρέσθαι σοῦ κασιγνήτου πέρι.

What would it be reasonable to guess was said in the missing passage? It would be reasonable to guess that, having got as far as concluding that no Argive could have left the offerings, the old man did not simply let the matter drop but went on to speculate about others who might have left them; and he must have thought *imprimis* of Orestes. In other words we want 517 to be followed by something much like 518 f.,

> ἀλλ' ἦλθ' ἴσως που σὸς κασίγνητος λάθραι,
> μολὼν δ' ἐτίμησ' ἄθλιον τύμβον πατρός,[3]

or alternatively by something like 545 f.,

> ἀλλ' ἤ τις αὐτοῦ τάφον ἐποικτίρας ξένος
> ἐκείρατ', ἢ τῆσδε σκοπούς λαθὼν χθονός < . . . >.[4]

Note that the apparently unmotivated vocative ὦ παῖ in 516 is explained if a σός is coming, as it does in 518 and may have done in the line or lines lost after 546.[5] αὐτοῦ in 545 would still lack an expressed antecedent if the line followed 517, but the lack would be less remarkable than it is in the transmitted text, because αὐτοῦ τάφον would be an echo of αὐτοῦ πρὸς τάφον a few lines before (509).

We should further expect the old man's suggestion that Orestes is in the vicinity to arouse some response from Electra, probably dismissive: something much like 524–6,

> οὐκ ἄξι' ἀνδρὸς ὦ γέρον σοφοῦ λέγεις,
> εἰ κρυπτὸν ἐς γῆν τήνδ' ἂν Αἰγίσθου φόβωι
> δοκεῖς ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμὸν εὐθαρσῆ μολεῖν.

Following which unanswerable (if erroneous) argument, the old man might well drop the matter and go on to the next thing: οἱ δὲ ξένοι ποῦ;

[3] I accept Canter's ἐτίμησ' in place of ἐθαύμασ', which is surely a mechanical repetition from 516. If ἐθαύμασ' were correct it could only mean 'he was surprised' (at the neglect of the grave): the notion that it could mean 'honoured' receives not the slightest support from 84 f. μόνος δ' Ὀρέστην τόνδ' ἐθαύμαζες φίλων | πράσσονθ' ἃ πράσσω. We must not forget that the transmission of the alphabetic plays hangs by a thread.

[4] Accepting Victorius' λαθὼν for λαβὼν. See also 93. The hexemimeral caesura (without elision) is abnormal for Euripides, but there are instances at *Hec.* 1159, *Supp.* 699, *Bacch.* 1125, *IA* 306, fr. 495. 6. (*Hel.* 86 and *IA* 630 are interpolated.) On the probability that these lines were written for the old man, not Electra, see Bain 108.

[5] In general vocatives are used (*a*) when someone is first addressed, (*b*) in association with a second-person pronoun or pronominal adjective.

That, it seems to me, is the irreducible minimum that we must have between 517 and 547; and we may as well accept as genuine those verses in the text which correspond so closely to what we require, that is, 518–19 or 545–6 (they appear to be alternative versions) and 524–6. Those who athetize the whole section 518–44 go too far. But we still have to face the substance of what gives them offence: the frankly ludicrous dialogue about the chances of forensic science. Ludicrous is not too strong a word. It is not just that Electra's replies are captious. The old man's proposals do not arise naturally from the situation and would be impossible to act on even if she were favourably disposed towards them. If she were shutting her eyes to real clues that could have led to the recognition, there would be some dramatic tension generated. As it is, the effect is to make a shrewd and praiseworthy old man into a laughing-stock for a short, sharply defined space of time, after which he reverts to his former status. It may perhaps be argued, 'But that is to miss the dramatic irony: the point is that the old man is in fact right and Electra is wrong'. As Vögler puts it with his Germanic love of the abstract, her confident rationality illustrates 'das Verstricktsein der menschlichen Existenz in die Gewalt der Doxa'.[6] But her only error is her assumption, in lines which we have seen reason to exempt from disapproval, that Orestes would not have come incognito. Apart from that her position is sound. Whether Orestes is about or not, the criteria proposed by the old man are—in the circumstances of Euripides' play—useless.

They are formulated at all only because of their use in the *Choephoroi*. They have no roots in the present context but are dragged in solely to be ridiculed. No one disputes this. The question is whether Euripides is responsible, and if so whether he wrote the scene like that from the start. Let us review the principal arguments.

I[19] Those who believe in an alien interpolation argue that:

1. The silliness of the altercation in itself and the mockery of Aeschylus are unworthy of Euripides. Most people will have their own views on this. Unfortunately there are no objective criteria for determining how silly or impudent Euripides could be. Sophistical disputation is in general rather characteristic of him. Nothing in the language has been objected to as un-Euripidean: can the same be said of any other interpolated passage of comparable length?

[6] Compare Lloyd-Jones 180=346; Bond 3.

2. The passage is irrelevant and holds up the action undesirably. To this it may be replied that Euripides is of all tragedians the least bothered by questions of dramatic relevance when he has the opportunity to present some clever and provocative piece of argumentation. The action is held up, but only for about ninety seconds, and in any case defenders of the passage claim that delay of the recognition is a dramatic gain (see below).
3. It has been established that Electra would not be able to recognize Orestes. The old man is the only person who can. But in 518–44 the assumption is that Electra is the person to recognize him. 'The very thing that Euripides is most anxious to reject is regarded as the natural solution' (Fraenkel). There is no real contradiction, however. The solution that has from the beginning been rejected implicitly by Euripides, recognition by Electra with the help of the Aeschylean tokens, is in 520–44 rejected explicitly.
4. There are difficulties at the two points of juncture between the suspect passage and the context (Bain 106–8). The difficulty that Bain finds at the beginning is the use of ἐθαύμασε in 519 in a different sense from that which the verb bears in 516. As I have said, I regard the verb in 519 as a simple corruption; but if it is not corrupt, it has the same meaning as in 516, and its repetition could be taken as a pointer towards unity of authorship with as much justification as the opposite. I treat the suspect passage as beginning at 520, and here I do find a certain awkwardness in the old man's sudden advance from reflection on his discovery at the grave to forthright, impractical advice. The difficulty at the end is in lines 545 f.: not in the fact that 546 must be corrupt with a lacuna following, but in the fact that (for reasons which Bain explains, following Mau) it does not seem possible to take them as the continuation of Electra's speech in 541–4; they appear to be another version of the old man's speculations in 518 f. Coming on top of the other considerations, this must be admitted as a serious indication that the passage has suffered major alteration.

Let us turn to the arguments of the defence.

1. It is precisely for the sake of the criticism of Aeschylus that Euripides made the old man go to the grave.[7] If so, why did he

[7] Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 18 (1883), 236 n. 2 = *Kl. Schr.* vi (Berlin 1972), 182 n. 2.

not allow him at least to find a footprint or two (Electra could still have used her second argument about that) and an actual piece of cloth? No, he goes not for that reason, nor to be prepared psychologically for the recognition scene (Fraenkel), but, as I have said, because he is the most convenient person available to find the offerings and release the little bit of excitement that their discovery has to yield.

2. If 518–44 are removed, 513–17 make a loose end. The excited old man, instead of drawing the conclusion that Orestes is in the vicinity, passes abruptly to his question 'Where are your visitors?', and Electra fails to react to the news he has brought. This argument protects only a small part of the passage.
3. Lines 577f., *συμβόλοισι γάρ | τοῖς σοῖς πέπεισμαι θυμόν*, must refer to more than the single *σύμβολον* of the scar. This is answered by Bain 106, who points out that the lines pick up 572 *ποῖον χαρακτῆρ' εἰσιδών, ὦι πείσομαι*; and that *τεκμήρια* is used of a single token at *IT* 822. Besides, Electra cannot now give credence to the tokens proposed in 520–40, because she never tried the comparison of hair, and no footprints or fabrics were ever seen by anyone.
4. Retardation is an essential feature of Euripides' technique in preparing recognition scenes.[8] Quite so. But the recognition of Orestes has in any case been delayed for over three hundred lines. He came specifically to look for Electra (98), he approached her (220) already aware who she was, and ever since then he has concealed his own identity for no reason at all except so that Euripides may entertain the audience with her ignorance in the ensuing dialogue and with a more theatrical recognition later on. The dispute about the Aeschylean tokens certainly delays the recognition a little longer, but it cannot be argued that it is not sufficiently delayed without it.

|[20] Most of the arguments on both sides are inconclusive, but it seems to me that the following points stand out as significant:

(i) Lines 519–20 (or 545–6 . . .)+524–6 are integral to the scene as a whole, whereas 520–3+527–44 make up a self-contained slab of debate which is not integral and which appears, by contrast with its

[8] W. Ludwig, *Sapheneia. Ein Beitrag zur Formkunst im Spätwerk des Euripides* (Diss. Tübingen 1954), 128; Vögler (as n. 1); Bond 5, cf. 11f.

surroundings, ill-conceived and ill-adapted to the circumstances of the play.

(ii) There is a slightly jarring transition at 520, and after 544 what looks like a detached relic of an alternative to 518 f.

(iii) There is nothing obviously un-Euripidean in the language or conception of the lines, indeed they seem in some respects quite Euripidean.

The most reasonable conclusion is that 520–3 + 527–44 were not composed at the same time as the rest of the scene but were worked in subsequently, whether before or (as seems likelier) after the original performance. I ascribe the addition to Euripides not just because of (iii) above, but because the actors' or producers' interpolations that we can detect in the texts of the tragic poets are of an entirely different character. I can believe that Euripides might take it upon himself to make fun of Aeschylus in this way; I find it inconceivable that some fourth-century upstart would do so by—of all methods—interpolating Euripides.

How is the doublet 518 f. ~ 545 f. to be accounted for? Presumably one belongs to the original version and the other to the expanded version. In our text 518 f. are associated with 520 ff., the expanded version, whereas 545 f. are only in place if the whole expanded section 518–44 is removed. The preservation of 545 f. is explicable on the hypothesis that Euripides' earlier version and his revised version both got into circulation, and that a scholarly editor, finding 517 followed in some copies by 518–44 and in others by 545 f. + the line or lines now lost after 546 (+ 524–6?), recorded in his ἐκδοσις first the longer version and then those verses in the other version which were not duplicated in it, with critical signs.[9] The lacuna after 546 is probably an accident of the tenuous medieval tradition; there are others after 538, 1154, 1181, and in all the other plays for which we depend on L.

[9] For the separate currency and (in some cases) subsequent conflation of earlier and later drafts of various ancient works see G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (2nd ed., Florence 1952), 397–465; H. Emonds, *Zweite Auflage im Altertum* (Leipzig 1941); literature cited by M. D. Reeve in *PCPS* 15 (1969), 75 n. 1; my *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart 1973), 15 f. The alternative prologues of *IA* are not relevant here, because they are unlikely to be by the same author, and because their juxtaposition is not due to scholarly collation: the effort has been made in 109 ff. to link them together.

I will conclude with two remarks which, if correct, will have the effect of mitigating the unfairness of Euripides' attack on his predecessor. Firstly the garment which Electra says Orestes could no longer be wearing even if she had woven one for him in the first place. Scholars, beginning with the scholiast on *Cho.* 231, have asserted that the ὕφασμα referred to by Aeschylus was not what Orestes was wearing in the *Choephoroi* but another piece of cloth—παιδικὸν σπάργανον in the words of the scholiast, or according to certain more recent writers a 'sampler'—which Orestes suddenly flourishes under his sister's nose, having presumably up to this point been holding it behind his back or under his arm or trailing it at his side. Apart from the dramatic weakness of this, we must surely assume (*pace* Bain 110f.) that the critique in the *Electra* was composed by a poet who had seen the *Choephoroi* performed and who could count on others' having seen it. The argument which he puts in Electra's mouth presupposes that in the performance that they had seen, the ὕφασμα was indeed the garment worn by Orestes in the recognition scene. We will accept the usual assumption that the critical performance was not the original one of 458 but a recent revival;[10] in theory the producer might have misrepresented Aeschylus' intention and turned the ὕφασμα from a 'sampler' into a full-size garment. But if he had not seen the original performance himself, there were plenty of people around to correct him. In any case it would then be a question of his error, not of Euripides' unfairness.

Secondly the footprints. Electra asks how there could be any on stony ground, ἐν καταιλέωι πέδωι. Euripides is of course entitled to make the ground as stony as he likes in his own play. But if this is a gratuitous premise of his own, the criticism of Aeschylus is ineffective. It only works if Aeschylus himself had said that the ground was stony. Now the beginning of the *Choephoroi* is lost, except for four fragments, in one of which Orestes does refer to the grave-mound:

> 4 τύμβου δ' ἐπ' ὄχθωι τῶιδε κηρύσσω πατρί
> κλυεῖν, ἀκοῦσαι.

[10] Bain 112 indulges in special pleading against the natural assumption that Ar. *Nub.* 534–6 is a reference to the *Choephoroi*. I agree with him against H.-J. Newiger, *Hermes* 89 (1961), 422ff., that there is no reason to drag in Euripides.

This ὄχθος, like the one formed by the grave-mound of Darius (*Pers.* 647, 660), was probably represented in the play by the outcrop of limestone which once existed at the left of the orchestra.[11] If so, it was visibly stony, and in the context from which 4 f. come Aeschylus might have used another expression which referred |[21] to it as a stony place. It may be significant that the word used in *El.* 534, κραταίλεως, is found nowhere else in Euripides, nor in Sophocles, but twice in Aeschylus, including an instance in the *Agamemnon* (666 κραταίλεων χθόνα). Perhaps ἐν κραταιλέωι πέδωι is a quotation from the prologue of the *Choephoroi.*

[11] See N. G. L. Hammond, *GRBS* 13 (1972), 409–11, 415–25, 427–37, 441, 447–8; *JHS* 99 (1979), 135 f. [=above, pp. 260–2].

23

Author's Afterthoughts in *Orestes*

'Begin at the beginning, go on until you come to the end, and then stop.' Hardly any literary artist succeeds in composing substantial works in quite such a straightforward way, by uninterrupted linear progression from start to finish. As he composes, he has new ideas, and sometimes he goes back and changes what he has already written or makes insertions in it. If he is not very careful, this is liable to lead, if not to actual contradictions, at least to mild discontinuities and interruptions of the logical sequence of thought.

The occurrence of such discontinuities and interruptions in classical texts often provokes proposals for deletion or transposition. In some cases these are no doubt the correct answers. But it seems to me extraordinary how little use scholars have made of the concept of the author's afterthought—something that nearly all texts must contain, whether detectable or not—to account for irregularities of those kinds. In many instances what is recognizable as an insertion is at least as likely to be due to the author as to a second hand, unless one takes the *a priori* view (easily disprovable by experience) that an author will not fail to notice all the structural implications of an insertion in his own work. In certain instances we may recognize interpolations or rearrangements that cannot plausibly be ascribed to anyone but the author himself.[1]

From 'Problems in Euripides' *Orestes*', *CQ* 37 (1987), 281–93, at 281–5, with footnotes numbered 3–13.

[1] For the application of this concept to Homer see W. Schadewaldt's *Iliasstudien* (3rd ed., Darmstadt 1966), *passim*; G. P. Goold, *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977), 1–34; for Hesiod, my *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 206, 289, and *Hesiod, Works and Days* (Oxford 1978), 44, 55, 58, 268, 326, and my remarks in C. Brillante and others (edd.), *I poemi epici rapsodici non omerici e la tradizione orale* (Padua, 1981), 65–7 [= *Hellenica* i. 157 f.]; for Sophocles (*OC* 1300), *BICS* 31 (1984), 188; for

The following passages of *Orestes* should, I submit, be considered from this point of view.

(a) The stichomythia between Orestes and Menelaus in 385–448

In stichomythia most lines connect closely with the ones preceding them, except where there is a definite advance to a new topic. Once a passage was written, therefore, it was difficult to insert anything without leaving signs of disturbance. Yet it must have been tempting, whenever Euripides thought of a new debating point or a new piece of repartee that suited a context already drafted, to try to incorporate it. There are |[282] two places in the dialogue in question where natural connections are broken. In 395 ff. Menelaus interrogates Orestes rather like a doctor.[2] 'What is the matter with you?' 'Intellect.' 'What do you mean?' 'Well, anguish.' 'Hm. May be curable.' 'And frenzy-fits.' 'And how long have you had this complaint?' 'Since the day I buried mother' (402). Of course the doctor needs to know next how long ago that was. But this essential supplementary question does not appear until 421, by which time the disease has been diagnosed (409/411). The thread has been broken by the introduction of another line of inquiry, leaving *πόσον χρόνον δέ . . .*; to be fitted in later.[3] The other discontinuity is the separation of 417,

Με. ἀμαθέστερός γ' ὢν (Apollo) τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς δίκης,

from 424,

Ορ. οὐ σοφός, ἀληθὴς δ' εἰς φίλους †ἔφυς κακός†,

which, however emended, makes no sense as a reply to 423 *ὡς ταχὺ μετῆλθόν σ' αἷμα μητέρος θεαί*. In *BICS* 28 (1981), 69, I have

Euripides (*El.* 520–3+527–44), *BICS* 27 (1980), 17–20 [=above, Chapter 22]; (*Phoen.* 774–7, 1308–34), *CPh* 85 (1990), 315 f.

[2] The sort of citizens' doctor described in Pl. *Leg.* 720d, who *τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων νοσήματα θεραπεύει τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξετάζων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν . . . ἅμα μὲν αὐτὸς μανθάνει τι παρὰ τῶν νοσούντων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἷός τέ ἐστιν διδάσκει τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα αὐτόν.*

[3] Willink in his note on 421–3 says that after 402 'Menelaus saw no pressing need to pose the further question "how long ago was that?" Orestes' replies diverted him to other matters of interest.' But we are concerned not with Menelaus' mind but with Euripides': why did he not complete the questioning about the duration of Orestes' madness before going on to the 'other matters of interest'?

argued that the person whom Orestes calls 'not clever, but true to his friends' can only be Apollo, and I accordingly conjectured ἔφυ θεός for the end of the line. So far as I can see, this is the only interpretation which allows us to relate the line to anything in the whole context, and the connection is with 417. 424 was surely invented to answer 417. Then Euripides thought of a new riposte to Menelaus' comment on Apollo's ἀμαθία: 418 δουλεύομεν θεοῖς, ὅτι ποτ' εἰσὶν οἱ θεοί. He followed this with a question naturally arising from Orestes' reference to Apollo's instructions: 'Then isn't he providing any relief for your troubles?', which gave the opportunity for another philosophical *bon mot*: 420 μέλλει· τὸ θεῖον δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον φύσει. The idea of time passing made a suitable point of attachment for the displaced question πόσον χρόνον δέ . . .; with the two lines that followed it. Then he continued with οὐ σοφός κτλ., quite failing to make a plausible logical sequence out of 423–4.[4]

There are further difficulties in the following dialogue. Menelaus' question at 427, τὰ πρὸς πόλιν δὲ πῶς ἔχεις δράσας τάδε; starts to lead towards his being told of the impending debate in Argos and being begged for help. Orestes' statements in 428/430 that no one will speak to him or admit him to their homes are hardly adequate to motivate Menelaus' question in 431, τίνες πολιτῶν δ' ἐξαμιλλῶνταί σε γῆς; Carl Robert, *Bild und Lied* (Berlin 1881), 184, 240 f., wished to delete 431–6 with its references to personal enemies of Orestes. Indeed 437 ff. make a more natural sequel to 430:

430 *Or.* ἐκκλήιομαι γὰρ δωμάτων ὅπηι μόλω.
437 *Me.* Ἀγαμέμνονος δ' <οὐ> σκῆπτρ' ἐᾶι σ' ἔχειν πόλις;
Or. πῶς, οἵτινες ζῆν οὐκ ἐῶσ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι;

Oeax and the friends of Aegisthus (432–6) are in no way integral to the play. There I[283] is a mention of the friends of Aegisthus in the report of the Argive debate (894), but neither they nor Oeax speak in the debate, and the city is represented, except in 889–97, as leaderless since the deaths of Clytaemestra and Aegisthus. I suspect that Euripides inserted 431–6 to recall his own *Palamedes* of seven years

[4] Willink ingeniously emends 424 to οὐ σοφὸς ἀληθῶς ἐς φίλους ὁ φὺς κακός, but is still forced to assume a dislocation after 423. He suggests placing 412–13 here. 412 certainly goes quite well after 423, but I cannot see that 424 becomes any more relevant if preceded by 413. I speculate that Euripides' first draft may have contained the sequence 401–2, 421–3, 412–17, 424.

before, and to strengthen the bonds between his new story and its frame of existing mythology.[5]

(b) 591–9 ὁρᾷς δ' Ἀπόλλωνα κτλ.

The concluding part of Orestes' speech of self-justification before Tyndareos is variously problematic. We find consecutively:

588–90. Orestes points to Penelope as a contrast with Clytaemestra: she has remained faithful to her husband, and Telemachus has accordingly not killed her.

591–9. The Apollo argument. Apollo told Orestes to kill his mother. Was he wrong to obey the god?

600–1. Conclusion: the deed was well done, but turned out badly for the doer, Orestes.

[602–4]. Irrelevant gnome about marriage, generally agreed to be an interpolation.

605–6. Choral comment: women always bring disagreeable complications into men's lives.

The first of these sections, 588–90, was condemned by Dindorf, whom a number of scholars have followed. The arguments against it, however, are not compelling,[6] and its presence seems to be presupposed by the ὁρᾷς δ' in 591, which takes up ὁρᾷς in 588.[7]

The second section, 591–9, was condemned by J. Oeri. 593 must be excised (Nauck), but otherwise the passage reads well. There are two linguistic abnormalities: the form Ἀπόλλωνα instead of Ἀπόλλω in 591,[8] and the synizesis μὴ ὁ in 599.[9] The first can be avoided by

[5] According to one version (Dictys 6. 2, Hyg. *Fab.* 117) it was Oeax who prompted Clytaemestra to murder Agamemnon, and Paus. 1. 22. 6 describes a fifth-century painting on the Acropolis which showed Pylades killing 'the sons of Nauplius' as they came to Aegisthus' aid.

[6] See Willink, 178 f.

[7] I see no necessity for the transposition of 585–90 to follow 578 (Willink, following a suggestion from Diggle so to transpose 585–7 with deletion of 588–90). The thought of Clytaemestra's wickedness is there throughout 572–84, even if less central in 579–84, and 585 follows well enough. The renewed address to Tyndareos in 585 (σύ τοι . . . ὦ γέρον) leads on to 588 ὁρᾷς; . . . 591 ὁρᾷς δ'.

[8] Otherwise in drama only at Soph. *Tr.* 210, and there not guaranteed by metre. See T. C. W. Stinton, *BICS* 22 (1975), 90 = *Collected Papers on Greek Tragedy* (Oxford 1990), 122.

[9] No real parallel in tragedy. Cf. however Pind. *Isth.* 7. 8–9 ᾗ ὅτ' (dub.); Bacchyl. 3. 22 ἀγλαϊζέτω· ὁ γάρ.

emendation.[10] But neither is of such a nature as to cast serious doubt on the authenticity of the lines. A graver consideration is that with 602–4 deleted, as they surely must be, we have to look back to 585–90 for remarks about women to which the chorus-leader's comment at 605–6 can be related. The chorus-leader disregards 591–9. Yet if 591–9 were a post-Euripidean interpolation, we should be faced with the extraordinary circumstance that Orestes fails to mention his strongest argument, the fact that the matricide was enjoined upon him by Apollo.[11]

|[284] Again, the best solution seems to be that the lines are Euripidean but that they were added after 605–6 had been composed as the sequel to 544–90+600–1.

(c) The invocations of Agamemnon, Zeus, and Dike in 1225–45

The passage is conceived on the models of *Cho.* 479–509 and Eur. *El.* 671–84. There is no reason to think that Euripides himself did not write it (except for the interpolation 1227–30). It makes an effective climax to the plotting scene. But in Euripides' first draft the scene may have ended at 1223, seeing that 1216–23 make a typical programmatic conclusion: 'You then, Electra, stay in front of the house to watch for Hermione . . . while we go in and arm ourselves for the final struggle.' On hearing that, we expect to see Orestes and Pylades going in at once. Electra's lyric dialogue with the chorus (1246 ff.) could well follow immediately. 1225–45 seem to have been an afterthought.

(d) Apollo's announcements *ex machina*, 1625–65

Willink rightly emphasizes the peculiarity of the unsignalled change of addressee from Orestes to Menelaus at 1638. His solution is to

[10] Porson read ὁρᾷις; Ἀπόλλων (*nominativus pendens*; the δ' is omitted by some manuscripts), and Hermann ὁραῖς Ἀπόλλω δ'. Another possibility is ὁρᾷις δ' Ἀπόλλω γ'. δέ . . . γε is suitable (after 588 ὁρᾷις, Ὀδυσσέως ἄλοχον κτλ.—if 588–90 are accepted as genuine), as the appeal to Apollo's authority is the climax of Orestes' argument. Denniston's reservations about continuative δέ γε in tragedy (*Greek Particles*[2], 155) seem excessive, and he has not noted all the instances: add at least *Or.* 111.

[11] Its absence from the very abbreviated report of his speech to the assembly in 932–42 is not significant; the arguments he uses to Tyndareos in 551–6 and 572–84 are also omitted there.

transpose 1638–42 to follow 1663, bringing together the two mentions of Menelaus' wife and the trouble she has caused. That is certainly an improvement, though the assumed dislocation is hard to account for. Willink speaks unconvincingly of 'some reviser' who 'thought it appropriate that the sundered parts of *τὰ καθ' Ἑλένην* should be brought together'.

I submit that the only reviser who ever shifted sections of Euripidean speeches about was Euripides himself, and that once again the solution to problems of faulty continuity is to be sought in the process of composition. I think it is clear that Apollo's speech as originally conceived did not contain the passage about Orestes' exile to Arcadia and trial on the Areopagus (1643–52), as other parts of the speech are composed with a simpler story in view. Orestes is to marry Hermione, with no suggestion of any delay, and the implication is that they will live happily ever after, like Pylades and Electra (1653–9); he is to rule in Argos forthwith (1660), and Apollo will put things right between him and the city (1664–5). The structure of the speech in this first version was, I suppose, as follows:

(A) Menelaus, cease your anger, and you too, Orestes. =1625–8
(B) Your desire (Orestes) to kill Helen is in vain. I am taking her to heaven. =1629–37
(C) Menelaus, leave Orestes alone, go back to Sparta, and forget about Helen. I will settle things with the Argives. =1660–3, 1638–42, 1664–5
(D) As for Hermione, Orestes, you are to marry her; and give Electra to Pylades. =1653–9.

Note that in this version:

(i) The initial order to stop quarrelling (A) is methodically followed up. Apollo speaks to Orestes and Menelaus in turn (B, C) and explains that their designs on Helen are both alike futile. Finally (D) the other persons visible, Hermione and Pylades, are dealt with and their future and Orestes' ordained.

(ii) *Ὀρέστα* in 1653 signals a change of addressee, as it does not in the transmitted text. The superfluous vocative ought to worry us no less than the absence of one at 1638.

(iii) The last person addressed is Orestes. It is he who responds at 1666.

All in excellent order. But then Euripides decided to take account of the traditional legends about Orestes' exile and trial. Where was all that to be fitted in? Clearly it l^{285} had to precede (D); and it would naturally come after Orestes and Menelaus had both been told to end their feud and forget about Helen (B, C). τὰ μὲν καθ' Ἑλένην ὧδ' ἔχει is how the passage is actually introduced (1643). But then Euripides realized that the references in (C) to Orestes ruling in Argos and the Argives accepting him as purified of blood-guilt could not precede the exile and trial, and he transferred 1660–3 and 1664–5 to their present position, overlooking the inconcinnity that resulted at 1638.

I anticipate two kinds of adverse reaction to all these hypotheses of Euripidean afterthoughts. One is to say that it is all empty speculation, because we have no evidence for prior drafts and never will have. Of course there is no *documentary* evidence. The position is not much better for other sorts of textual criticism: in exceptional cases a new papyrus may confirm a conjecture, but in the vast majority of cases there is not going to be a new papyrus. That does not mean that in the absence of manuscript variation it is pointless to try to identify corruptions. The evidence is internal, in the coherence or otherwise of the text. It is the same with authorial revisions. There is evidence of that kind, whatever conclusions one ventures to draw from it.

The other possible objection is that our concern should be with the text as the author finally intended it to be, and that it is not our business to pry into the stages by which he arrived at it. I disagree. The creative process is a legitimate object of scholarly interest, and especially when it holds the key to difficulties that the finished text poses.

24

The End of *Iphigeneia in Aulis*

The *Iphigeneia in Aulis* was produced by Euripides' son at the Dionysia of 405, a little over a year after the poet's death.[1] It is generally assumed that he left it unfinished and that the younger Euripides had to do a substantial amount of work to make it performable. Certainly there is a good deal in the play as we have it that cannot be Euripides' own work. But it is clear that what we have does not altogether correspond to what was performed in 405. It is not simply a matter of a Euripidean torso supplemented by an inferior poet. At the beginning of the play we find two rival prologues, one in trimeters in the manner of Euripides, one in anapaests in the manner of the *Rhesus*.[2] They are presumably by different poets (Euripides senior and junior, perhaps), and a third poet has done what he can to combine them (109–14). There were also two different versions of the ending of the play current in antiquity, though not conflated in our text. In the version from which Aelian quotes a fragment (*HA* 7. 39 = *IA* fr. 1 Diggle) Iphigeneia's departure at 1509 was followed—perhaps after a choral song—by an epiphany of Artemis, who told Clytaemestra that her daughter would be saved. We have insufficient evidence to judge whether Euripides himself might have l[74] been the author of this version, but it is just what we would expect from him.[3]

From 'Tragica V', *BICS* 28 (1981), 61–78, at 73–8, with footnotes numbered 23–53.

[1] The date is implied by sch. Ar. *Ran.* 67 (*Εὐριπίδου . . . τοῦ τεθνηκότος*), who cites in confirmation of Aristophanes the Didaskaliai recording the posthumous production of *IA*, *Alcmeon* (*in Corinth*), *Bacchae*. There was no reason for him to cite this if it was not the entry for the year of the *Frogs*.

[2] That is, the *Rhesus* as we have it. We know from the Hypothesis that two iambic prologues of that play were also to be found.

[3] The *deus ex machina* is a constant feature of his late plays. The content of the Aelian fragment corresponds closely to *IT* 28 f., 783–5.

In the version of the direct tradition Iphigeneia's departure is followed by a short choral song supposed to cover the time of the sacrifice and by the arrival of a messenger who describes what happened. The song is too feeble for Euripides, the messenger's trimeters have far too few resolutions for his late style, and there are also other grounds for not believing this version to be his work.[4]

At about 1578 there is another change of author. All that has preceded may be presumed to have been composed, if not in the fifth century, then in the fourth or possibly the third.[5] But most people agree that 1578–1629 is of much later origin.[6] It is verse such as is to be found nowhere else in tragedy. Several metrical rules applying to the tragic trimeter are repeatedly violated, and there are some false quantities. There is also an attempt at anapaests (1615–20) which shows a misunderstanding of their principles, and an unconvincing snatch of 'lyric' (1627–9). It is generally and rightly supposed that the final portion of our text was composed by someone in whose copy of the play the last page or so was missing or illegible. Wilamowitz argued that this person was to be dated in late antiquity, because an attempt to write trimeters on ancient principles and even lyric verse must be either ancient or renaissance, and the extent of corruption indicates that the verses came into existence long before the manuscript in which they appear (L).[7] Nearly everyone else categorizes the passage as 'Byzantine', or uses some similarly loose expression: 'infimae aetatis' Paley; 'ineunte vel ipsa Byzantina aetate multo recentior' Hennig;[8] 'in piena epoca bizantina' Vitelli;[9] 'einem ganz jungen Verfasser angehört und nicht aus dem Altertum

[4] In Euripidean messenger speeches the speaker always announces the main point of what has happened before he gives a detailed account. This one does not. Lines 1546–76 are heavily dependent on *Hec.* 521–64. 1547–50 may have been inspired by a famous painting by Timanthes of Cythnus (Cic. *Orat.* 73, Val. Max. 8. 11 ext. 6, Plin. *HN* 35. 73, Quintil. 2. 13. 13), though this would not necessarily have been impossible for Euripides.

[5] A performance of *an Iphigeneia* of Euripides in 341 is recorded (*TrGF* i, DID A 2a.2). If this was *IA*, it might well have occasioned reworking. Lycurgus' decree a few years later may have curbed such activities.

[6] Some take 1568 or 1572 as the beginning of the portion in question. I will explain later why I follow Murray in putting it at 1578. Others have taken 1510–1629 or 1532–1629 to be all of a piece, all late.

[7] *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie* (Berlin 1907), 212.

[8] H. Hennig, *De Iphigeniae Aulidensis forma ac condicione* (Diss. Berlin 1870), 186.

[9] G. Vitelli, *Intorno ad alcuni luoghi della Ifigenia in Aulide* (Florence 1877), 63.

stammt ... byzantinisches Machwerk' Wecklein;[10] 'interpolatores recentissimi' Murray; 'Byzantini continuatoris' Zieliński;[11] 'Byzantine forger' Page;[12] 'erst von einem Byzantiner ergänzt' Pohlenz;[13] 'späte, wahrscheinlich erst byzantinische Ergänzung' Lesky;[14] 'rewritten by a Byzantine scribe' Webster.[15]

The late origin of the passage has sometimes been held to be reflected in the state of the manuscripts. Murray, for example, states that the ending was added by second hands in both L (1578–1629) and P (1570–1629), and he accepts the contention of R. Wünsch[16] that the second hand in P is that of Marcus Musurus. The facts are as follows. In L the *IA* is written from beginning to end by Nikolaos Triklines. Parts of 1570–2 have been affected by erasure and rewritten with a thicker nib. The last side (f. 154^{r}), containing 1578–1629, is in the same hand as the rest, and Demetrios Triklinios continued to add his corrections and metrical marginalia here as he had done throughout.[17] In P, 1570–1629 were written at the same period as what precedes, in a hand so similar to the rest that some have asserted the identity of the scribes.[18] I agree with Zuntz that it is in fact a different scribe, identical with the rubricator.[19] As the text is copied from L, this can have no bearing on the origin of the passage.

Much more to the point is the fact that in P the end of *IA* is followed, on the latter part of f. 147^{v} and on f. 148^{r} and in the same hand, by the Hypothesis, *Dramatis personae*, and 65 lines of what purports to be Euripides' *Danae* and is in fact a forgery of similar

[10] *SBAW* 1899 (2), 311 f.

[11] *Tragodumenon libri tres* (Cracow 1925), 282, see also 300.

[12] *Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy* (Oxford 1934), 197.

[13] *Die griechische Tragödie*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen 1954), i. 459.

[14] *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*, 3rd ed. (Göttingen 1972), 449.

[15] *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London 1967), 263.

[16] *Rh. Mus.* 51 (1896), 145 f.

[17] See A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of Euripides* (Urbana, Ill. 1957), 229, 237; G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965), 58 f., 102; A. Tuilier, *Recherches critiques sur la tradition du texte d'Euripide* (Paris 1968), 208 n. 5.

[18] P. G. Mason, *CQ* 44 (1950), 66 (cautiously); Turyn 259 n. 244.

[19] Zuntz 139. In an Addendum on p. 289 Zuntz accepts Turyn's identification of the rubricator as Ioannes Katrares (Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis xiii et xiv scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Vatican City 1964), 124 ff.). One objective difference between the scripts that strikes me on looking at the facsimile is in the form of ξ. The hook at the top of the letter faces opposite ways in them, and so does the one at the bottom.

style and accomplishment to *IA* 1578–1629.[20] The metrical and stylistic features characteristic of the two pieces are as follows.

(1) Legitimate resolutions and first-foot anapaests: *IA* 1578, 1587, 1588, 1593, 1601, 1621, 1623, 1625; *Dan.* 1, 4, 20 bis, 46.

(2) Anapaests in other feet (apart from names): *IA* 1580, 1584, 1589 bis, 1596, 1621, 1625; *Dan.* 18?, 30. Many are split anapaests.

(3) Absence of caesura: *IA* 1578, 1586, 1593; *Dan* 4, 46.

(4) Violation of Porson's Law: *IA* 1583, 1589, 1599, 1612, 1613, 1623; *Dan.* 4.

(5) Lengthening by initial mute and liquid: *IA* 1579, 1610; *Dan.* 65. Lengthening by initial σ: *Dan.* 36 (s.v.l.).

(6) Other prosodic errors: *IA* 1580 μῐκρόν, 1592 θῡσίαν, 1599 ἡμέρᾳ, 1615 κλέμμᾱ, 1619 Ἀγαμέμνῶν; *Dan.* 18 ὁμως?, 28 λάθρᾰ, 31 τοῦτὄ κτῆμα, 33 μῆ γνοῦσα, 61 τῡρᾰννον?

l[75] (7) Linguistic faults: *IA* 1579 ἵνα πλήξειεν ἄν, 1580 δέ τ' (I conjecture δέ γ', cf. *Dan.* 18, 44), 1581 αἴφνης, 1582 ἤισθετ' ἄν, 1595 μιάνοι, 1608 ἀφίπτατο; *Dan.* 18 and 44 δέ γε, 48 ὅστις ἄν γε.

(8) Attempt to write anapaestic dimeters, with disregard of metron-diaeresis and with hypercatalexis instead of catalexis: *IA* 1615–20; *Dan.* 62–3.

(9) Attempt to write lyrics, in which individual cola are analysable but appear in no rational sequence: *IA* 1627–9; *Dan.* 49–60.

The frequency of faults is generally lower in the *Danae*, but the similarity of technique, together with the circumstances of preservation, makes it likely that the same author was responsible for both compositions. Note further the similarity of *IA* 1580 ἐμοὶ . . . ἄλγος οὐ μικρὸν εἰσήιει φρενί with *Danae* 36 εἰς θαῦμ' ἐσήιει and of *IA* 1606 καὶ δόξαν ἔσχεν ἄφθιτον καθ' Ἑλλάδα with *Danae* 26 καὶ κάλλος εἶχεν ἔξοχον καθ' Ἑλλάδα.

[20] Eur. fr. 1132. See also Wilamowitz, *Einleitung* 212; Zieliński 293–300; E. Rein in *Commentationes philologicae in honorem professoris emeriti I. A. Heikel* (Helsinki 1926), 124–9. Wünsch believed the piece to have been composed (as well as copied) by Musurus, leaving open the question whether Musurus was also the author of the end of *IA*. We now know that both texts are written in hands some two centuries earlier than Musurus; yet we still find him named as the author of *Danae* in Radt's source-apparatus to Soph. fr. 932.

At what period did people compose iambic trimeters of this quality? Not in the Middle Ages. A verse evolved from the classical trimeter, the Byzantine dodecasyllable, was in widespread and continuous use from the sixth to the fourteenth century; but its principal features, strict limitation to twelve syllables and invariable paroxytone ending, are not those of the verses with which we are concerned.[21] The latest examples of resolved trimeters occur in the work of Leon VI Philosophos (886–912), but they are very rare after George Pisides (seventh century).

Features (2), (3) and (4) in the above list are characteristic of the comic trimeter. This was used for serious verse, for the exposition of factual knowledge, from the time of Apollodorus of Athens, whose example was followed by pseudo-Scymnus, Servilius Damocrates, and others.[22] Servilius perhaps occasionally admits (5). But taking (5), (6), and (7) into account, it is from the fourth to the seventh century that we find verse that can be compared to the ending of *IA* and the *Danae* fragment. In the iambic poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, for example, we encounter resolutions, anapaests (split), hiatus, violation of Porson's Law, lengthening by initial mute and liquid; a sprinkling of false quantities, including θῡσίαν 1. 1. 16. 7, μῐκρόν 1. 1. 17. 5, ἄγνεῐαν 1. 2. 6. 13; the construction ὡς ἄν λύσειε 1. 1. 10. 19. (He does not neglect the caesura, so far as I have seen.) Similar features appear in fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-century poems from papyri.[23] Here we can parallel pseudo-Euripides' tolerance of resolved long followed by anapaest (*IA* 1621, 1625; *GDK* 30. 6) and his neglect of caesura (*GDK* 42. 5. 54, 56, 11. 7, al.). His scansion μῆ γνοῦσα can be compared with οὔκ ἔξεστιν (*GDK* 59. 9. 15); ἡμέρᾳ with καλέσω (*GDK* 59. 9. 4); Ἀγαμέμνων with Dioscorus' ἐλεήμων (*GDK* 42. 10. 16); κλέμμᾱ with τοὔνομᾱ (*GDK* 42. 17. 11). Then we can turn to the iambic prologues of the *Ecphrases* of John of Gaza and Paul the Silentiary. Paul in particular can be put beside pseudo-Euripides: he has the resolutions, the anapaests (split), the neglect of caesura (*Hag. Sophia* 102) and of Porson's Law, lengthening by initial mute and liquid, and one case of a long syllable in a short position (*Hag. Sophia* 97). The rhythm of

ἐπεὶ δὲ μετῆλθε, παρέσχε τοῖς ὑπηκόοις

[21] The Byzantine dodecasyllable is fully treated by P. Maas in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 12 (1903), 278–303 = *Kl. Schr.* (Munich 1973), 242–88.

[22] See F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik* (Berlin 1902), 60–74.

[23] *GDK* nos. 27; 30A; 33; 35. 3. 1–6; 42. 3. 1–23, 5. 40–62, 9–12A, 15–18; 59. 6, 9.

(ib. 63) gallops in time with *IA* 1589,

ἧς αἵματι βωμὸς ἐραίνετ' ἄρδην τῆς θεοῦ.

On grounds of technique, then, we may date the end of *IA* and the *Danae* fragment to between the fourth and seventh centuries of our era. On other grounds we should be disinclined to put them too early in this period. *IA* 1578–1629 is a supplement by someone who had not got the end of the play—had not got it and never expected to get it. A man marooned in some remote outpost of empire might have found himself in such a predicament at any period. But our man was situated well enough in the cultural mainstream for his supplemented text to become the sole source from which knowledge of *IA*, with the eight other alphabetic plays, survived into the Middle Ages. It seems that his manuscript (or an ancient copy derived from it) lurked for centuries in some minor library at Constantinople and was not discovered till the twelfth century.[24] The chances are that he himself lived at Constantinople. In any case he lived late enough for his non-select plays to be rarities. We know that texts of some other non-select plays of Euripides were still about in Egypt, Europe, and Antioch in the fifth or sixth century.[25] What our man had was remnants of a complete set of Euripides' plays arranged alphabetically. The nine we have inherited from him, with *Hecuba*, would l[76] originally (in roll form) have occupied two τεύχη, the fifth and seventh in the series.[26] I assume that by his time each τεῦχος had been replaced by a parchment codex. He may have had more than just the two, but he probably did not have the whole set, and the volumes he had were old and battered. In Triclinius' numeration *Heraclidae* comes last in the E/H group, *IA* comes last in the I/K group, and these are the two plays that have suffered conspicuous

[24] Theodorus Prodromus apparently imitates a line from the *Danae* (24: *Rhodanthe and Dosiclea* 2. 70), and Eustathius knew at least the *Cyclops* and *Ion* (see Zuntz, *The Political Plays of Euripides*, 2nd ed. (Manchester 1953), 147 ff.; *Inquiry*, 183 ff.). Eustathius later became Archbishop of Thessalonica, and it was presumably from his Euripides, preserved there, that the alphabetic plays were copied in Λ, the immediate exemplar of the Triclinian L (and of P for the *Danae*?). [See now N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London 1983), 238 f.]

[25] Europe: *Phaethon*. Antioch: John Malalas appears to show direct knowledge of several plays; see Rein (as n. 20), 109 ff.

[26] B. Snell, *Hermes* 70 (1935), 119 f. = *Gesammelte Schriften* (Göttingen 1966), 176 f. Snell counts only 16 plays (three τεύχη) before our E/H plays; I count 20 = 4×5.

damage (like *Bacchae*, which comes last in the select group): they no doubt came last in the ancient codices.[27]

It is often thought that the author of the ersatz ending of *IA* had an exemplar in which the last page was not actually missing but had become largely illegible. The hypothesis enables Murray to explain why his alleged *manus recentiores* take up the task at different points in L and P. Others use it to account for the fact that the versification is not uniformly bad: by picking out the lines and half-lines that are reasonably successful, Page feels able to show us just which patches of the original were legible. This is a very unsafe procedure. We cannot assume that our poet was incapable of composing a few consecutive lines without fault. On the whole he does better in the *Danae*, where a semi-legible exemplar hardly comes into question, than in *IA*. However, there is a better reason for admitting a slight overlap between his work and that of the classical poet. The account of the sacrifice in 1546 ff. is modelled on *Hec.* 521–64. This dependence is still apparent in 1568 f. (cf. *Hec.* 523 f.) and 1572 f. (cf. *Hec.* 535 ff.), which is why I have treated these lines as coming from the same hand as 1510–67. Their quality is not inferior.[28] It is at 1578 that we are suddenly plunged into a different style:

ἱερεὺς δὲ φάσγανον λαβὼν ἐπεύξατο
λαιμόν τ' ἐπεσκοπεῖθ' ἵνα πλήξειεν ἄν.

Yet this does not seem to be independent of *Hec.* 542–3,

τοσαῦτ' ἔλεξε, πᾶς δ' ἐπηύξατο στρατός·
εἶτ' ἀμφίχρυσον φάσγανον κώπης λαβών κτλ.,

which follows the prayer (534–41) on which *IA* 1570–6 is modelled. I conjecture that at the bottom of the last surviving page of the old codex the continuator could see

[27] *Κύκλωψ* ought to have come after the I-plays if initial-alphabetic order was intended to be preserved when the rolls were copied into codices. Evidently the transcriber was careless about the order in which he copied the plays he found in a given container. (See also Snell, who draws a different conclusion.)

Possibly the *Danae* fragment was composed as a replacement for the lost initial leaf or leaves of volume 4, which should have contained *Danae*, *Dictys*, *Epeios*, *Erechtheus*, *Eurystheus*. I am not sure that the Hypothesis is not genuine. The contrary arguments of Zieliński (298) and Rein are not unanswerable. It could have been taken from a separate book of Hypotheses. [On the Hypothesis see further W. Luppe, *ZPE* 87 (1991), 1–7 and 95 (1993), 65–9; R. Kannicht, *ZPE* 90 (1992), 33 f. and *TrGF* v(2). 1030.]

[28] 1573 is surely corrupt, and originally ended *Ἀγαμέμνων τ' ἄναξ. θ' ὁμοῦ* got in from 1569.

]ΦΑΣΓΑΝΟΝΛΑΒΩΝ
]ΕΠΕΥΞΑΤΟ

(or these line-ends in the reverse order), and that he took these words as his starting-point. In the original the subject was not a priest but Agamemnon; cf. 873, 935, 950, 1177 f., 1472.

To sum up: the author of *IA* 1578–1629 and the *Danae* fragment lived in late antiquity, not earlier than the fifth century, perhaps in Constantinople. He was a student of Euripides and possessed some familiarity with tragic language.[29] He could write trimeters of average quality for the period. What is more remarkable is that he was ready to attempt anapaests and lyrics and that he does produce a number of recognizable cola (even if they come in chaotic sequence), which implies that he had studied the works of metricians.

I can suggest one possible identity for him: Eugenios, a native of Augustopolis in Phrygia and an eminent professor in Constantinople in the time of Anastasios I; predecessor of Stephanus of Byzantium. He wrote, among other grammatical works, κωλομετρίαν τῶν μελικῶν Αἰσχύλου Σοφοκλέους Εὐριπίδου ἀπὸ δραμάτων ιε', and a monograph περὶ τοῦ τί τὸ παιωνικὸν παλιμβάκχειον . . . καὶ ἄλλα τινά, τρίμετρα ἰαμβικά.[30] The κωλομετρία must have been a metrical analysis in the manner of Heliodorus' on Aristophanes. The fifteen plays were doubtless chosen from those commonly studied.[31] Here is a man in the right place at the right sort of period, a man who has texts of the tragedians and studies them, a man who writes iambic trimeters himself, a man on close terms with the paeonic palimbaccheus and notable for knowing how to festoon dramatic lyrics with such labels. Here is the kind of man we can imagine delving into dilapidated volumes of plays not on the syllabus, plays with no commentaries, and considering himself a sufficient authority to restore a missing ending. We can then imagine these volumes neglected again during the decline of learning in the second half of the sixth century, stowed away in some corner with their precious cargo of ten plays of Euripides, and presently becoming, for nine of those plays, the last copy in the world.

[29] *Danae* 19 is borrowed from Soph. fr. 932. 4, which he may have known (as we do) from Stobaeus.

[30] *Suda* ε 3394.

[31] Three Aeschylus, three Sophocles, nine Euripides? (L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 3rd ed. (Oxford 1991), 53.)

25

A Vagina in Search of an Author

Poetic descriptions of the vagina, its physical features and its excellence as a route to delight, are, I surmise, infrequent in the writings of bishops. It is a piquant surprise to find one lurking in Hippolytus' *Refutation of All Heresies* (if indeed the work is his). In a passage concerned to show that Gnostic doctrines are derived from the Greek mysteries (5. 8. 41–5), the Greater Mysteries (those of Demeter) are taken to stand for spiritual birth (*ἡ γένεσις ἡ πνευματική, ἡ ἐπουράνιος, ἡ ἄνω*), the Lesser (those of Persephone) for that of the flesh (*τὰ τῆς σαρκικῆς γενέσεως*):

περὶ ὧν μυστηρίων καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀγούσης ἐκεῖ, οὔσης "πλατείας καὶ εὐρυχώρου" (Matt. 7: 13) *καὶ φερούσης τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους ἐπὶ τὴν Περσεφόνην <ὁ σωτὴρ εἴρηκεν>. καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς δέ φησιν·*

> *αὐτὰρ ὑπ' αὐτήν ἐστιν ἀταρπιτὸς ὀκριόεσσα,*[1]
> *κοίλη, πηλώδης, ἥ θ'*[2] *ἡγήσασθαι ἀρίστη*
> *ἄλσος ἐς ἱμερόεν πολυτιμήτου Ἀφροδίτης.*

... περὶ τούτων, φησί, διαρρήδην εἴρηκεν ὁ σωτὴρ ὅτι "στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωήν, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι εἰς αὐτήν, πλατεῖα δὲ καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ πολλοί εἰσιν οἱ διερχόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς" (Matth. 7: 13 f., inaccurately).

|[371] About these Mysteries, and the road that leads there, which is 'level and capacious' and takes the damned to Persephone, <our Saviour has spoken>. The poet too says:

CQ 58 (2008), 370–5.

[1] *ὀκριόεσσα* Duncker–Schneidewin: *ὀκρυόεσσα* P.
[2] *ἤτ'* P: *ἥ δ'* Duncker–Schneidewin.

> But below it there is a rugged path,
> enclosed and muddy, which is the best one for leading
> to the delightful grove of much-esteemed Aphrodite.

. . . On these matters, he says, the Saviour has stated explicitly that 'narrow and tight is the road that leads to life, and few are they that enter upon it, but level and capacious is the road that leads to perdition, and many are they that pass along it'.

The anonymous hexameter fragment clearly describes the vagina. This must surely have been evident at least to some in the scholarly community, though I have not found anyone who has stated it.[s1] Those who indicate how they understand the lines seem to assume, following the context in which Hippolytus sets them, that they really had to do with the Mysteries and that they come from some account of the topography of the afterlife in which alternative routes were described. So, for example, Preller:

> Auf Freuden der Venus deuten die wahrscheinlich Orphischen Verse b. Hippol. ref. haer. [etc.] . . . κοίλη, πηλώδης (der Weg zur Unterwelt, s. Arist. Ran. 123, Apul. Met. VI 18) . . . Es ist die muselmännische Ansicht vom Paradiese, auch die der Heraklessage.[3]

Aristophanes and Apuleius in the two passages that Preller cites speak of paths leading from the upper world to that of the dead. But the path in our fragment leads to a grove of Aphrodite, which there is no reason to locate in the other world. That the path is πηλώδης may recall the mystic doctrine that the unrighteous or uninitiated will lie in πηλός in the afterlife.[4] But the progress towards the delightful grove of Aphrodite is clearly a good fate; why should the path lead through the mud that engulfs the bad? If there are two contrasted ways, it ought to be clearly separated from the way of mud.

If we forget about eschatology and give the verses a straightforwardly sexual interpretation, we shall find that the imagery can all be illustrated from other classical sources and that everything is

[3] L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* i[4] (Berlin 1894), 828 n. 0; cf. A. Dieterich, *Nekyia* (Leipzig 1893), 191–3; W. Kranz in H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 5th ed. (Berlin 1934–5), i. 246.

[4] Pl. *Rep.* 363d; more often βόρβορος, Ar. *Ran.* 145, Pl. *Rep.* 533d, *Phaed.* 69c, Plut. fr. 178, etc.; F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin–New York 1974), 103–7; cf. M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 161 f.

coherent. The best parallel for the fragment as a whole is to be found in the 'Fescennine' section of Ausonius' *Cento Nuptialis*, 110ff., where the bride's vagina is described:

> est in secessu, tenuis quo semita ducit,
> ignea rima micans: exhalat opaca mephitim;
> nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen.
> hic specus horrendum; talis sese halitus atris
> faucibus effundens nares contingit odore. . . .
> (119) insonuere cauae gemitumque dedere cauernae.

Ausonius was learned in Greek verse and may perhaps have known our fragment. As to the details:—[5]

I[372](i) *ὑπ' αὐτήν*: not under the earth, as suggested by Kranz (as in n. 3), but *ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα*, cf. Philo, *De agric.* 38 *ἡ φύσις ὡς ἔοικεν ὑπογάστρια τὰ συνουσίας ὄργανα ἐδημιούργησε*; id., *De opif. mundi* 158 *τοὺς ὑπογαστρίους οἴστρους*; id., *De special. legibus* 2. 163 *τάς τε γαστρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ ὑπογαστρίους*; id., *De somniis* 2. 148, *De vita Moysis* 1. 28, 2. 23; Longus 4. 11. 2 *ὁ δὲ Γνάθων, οἷα μαθὼν ἐσθίειν ἄνθρωπος καὶ πίνειν εἰς μέθην καὶ λαγνεύειν μετὰ τὴν μέθην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὢν ἢ γνάθος καὶ γαστὴρ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γαστέρα*.

(ii) *ἀταρπιτός*: cf. Ausonius' *semita*, with J. N. Adams's commentary in *SIFC* 53 (1981), 206. For the sexual imagery of gates and passageways see id., *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982), 89; Jeffrey Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (2nd ed., New York–Oxford 1991), 137f., 243, 245 (*θύρα, πύλη, ἰσθμός*).

(iii) *ὀκριόεσσα*: the transmitted *ὀκρυόεσσα* 'chilling, horrible' might be supported by Ausonius' *specus horrendum*, but *ὀκριόεσσα* 'rugged, rocky, uneven', which is often corrupted to *ὀκρυ-*, gives a more focused sense. A similar metaphor is to be assumed in Archilochus 190 W. *καὶ βήσσας ὀρέων δυσπαιπάλους, οἷος ἦν ἐφ' ἥβης*, 'and (I used to explore) (your) rocky mountain glens, being as I was in my youth'.[6]

(iv) *κοίλη*: applied to a path, this means 'enclosed, steep-sided': *Il.* 23. 419 *στεῖνος ὁδοῦ κοίλης*; Pind. *Ol.* 9. 34 (Hades' rod,) *βρότεα σώματ' ἀΐ κατάγει κοίλαν πρὸς ἄγυιαν θνᾱισκόντων*. Cf. Ausonius' *tenuis*, as well as his *specus* and *cauae cauernae*; *Hist.*

[5] I am indebted to Dr J. N. Adams for some additional references.
[6] See *SGEI* 134.

Aug. Heliogabalus 5. 2 *per cuncta caua corporis*; for the sexual imagery of holes, pits, and hollows, Henderson, op. cit. 139–42 (*βάραθρον, κόλπος, κύτος, μυχός, ὀπή, σαλάμβη, τρῆμα, τρύπημα*); caves, *Priapea* 83. 28, 35; Adams, *SIFC* 53 (1981), 207, and *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, 85 f.

(v) *πηλώδης*: literally 'muddy'; applied to a path, it would imply 'slippery'.[7] In relation to the vagina it expresses the idea of 'moist, squishy, viscous'; *πηλός* is the material from which humanity was made according to myth (Ar. *Av.* 686 *πλάσματα πηλοῦ*, etc., with Nan Dunbar's note). It may have a suggestion of uncleanness, though not as definitely as would *βορβορώδης*.[8] Hipponax (135b W.=158 Degani) used *βορβορόπη* or some similar form as an opprobrious predicate of a woman, and the *Suda* β 391 gives *βορβόροπιν* (*-ωπὸν* Cobet) *κῆπον* as a phrase for the (female) genitals, which may or may not refer to the same passage in Hipponax. Virgil's farmers, eager for their ewes to breed, keep them active in the summer, *nimio ne luxu obtunsior usus* | *sit genitali aruo et sulcos oblimet inertis* (*G.* 3. 135 f.), 'lest from excessive idleness the genital field's serviceability be blunted and cause the unworked furrows to silt up'; the implicit *limus* here, part of the whole ploughland image, represents presumably the natural secretions that might, it is feared, congeal and block the birth canal. In other places the 'mud' metaphor becomes distinctly pejorative: *Priapea* 83. 36 f., of an old crone's vagina (the addressee is the poet's penis), *superbia ista proderit nihil, simul* | *uagum sonante merseris luto caput*; Pompeian epigram, *CIL* iv. 1516=*CLE* 955 *hic ego nu[nc f]utue(i) formosa(m)* |[373] *fo[r]ma puella(m),* | *laudata(m) a multis, set lutus intus erat*; of the anus, Auson. *Epigr.* 115. 9 Greene *luteae Symplegadis antrum.*

(vi) *ἄλσος Ἀφροδίτης*: cf. sch. Eur. *Phoen.* 18, *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ φυσικὸς* (DK 31 B 66) *ἀλληγορῶν φησι "σχιστοὺς λειμῶνας* [v.l. *λιμένας*] *Ἀφροδίτης", ἐν οἷς ἡ τῶν παίδων γένεσίς ἐστιν.*[s2]

We can now advance to the problem of the authorship of the verses. Meineke, *Zeitschrift für Altertumswissenschaft* 10 (1852), 375,

[7] Cf. Thuc. 3. 22. 2 *τὸν ἀριστερὸν μόνον πόδα ὑποδεδεμένοι ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν πηλόν*, and the tale of Homer's demise in *Certamen Hom. et Hes.* 18, *ἀναχωρῶν δὲ ἐκεῖθεν, ὄντος πηλοῦ ὀλισθὼν καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πλευράν, τριταῖος ὡς φασι τελευτᾶι.*

[8] Cf. Pl. *Phaed.* 111d *πηλοῦ καὶ καθαρωτέρου καὶ βορβορωδεστέρου*; Heraclitus DK 28 B 5 *οἷον εἴ τις εἰς πηλὸν ἐμβὰς πηλῶι ἀπονίζοιτο.*

ascribed them to Parmenides, and Diels printed them as Parmenides fr. 20 ('Dubium') in his *Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta* (Berlin 1901), commenting 'tribuit Parmenidi Meineke perdubia coniectura, alii Pampho'. There the fragment remained in his *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (DK 28 B 20). I do not know who was responsible for the attribution to Pamphos, the legendary poet of hymns recited at the mysteries at Phlya.

Preller (as quoted above) had taken the fragment to be probably Orphic. He was followed by Dieterich, who quoted it in his discussion of the motif of the two alternative ways.[9] He remarked that this motif, first found in Hesiod (*Op.* 287–92), was taken up by Orphics and Pythagoreans and used in eschatological contexts; 'auch der ποιητής bei Hippolytos wird Orpheus sein'. Otto Kern included the verses in his *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1922), albeit in the section Spuria vel Dubia (fr. 352; not included by Bernabé).

Reinhardt in his brilliant early book on Parmenides suggested another author:

> Das 'zweifelhafte' Fr. 20 wird bei Diels doch wohl nur darum weitergeführt, damit man über seine Zweifelhaftigkeit nicht mehr im Zweifel sein könne. Vermutlich stammt es aus Empedokles Katharmen; vgl. Emp. Fr. 120 und 128.[10]

Empedocles fr. 120 is the one where the ψυχοπομποὶ δυνάμεις were represented as saying to the souls whom they were bringing to incarnation in our world "ἠλύθομεν τόδ' ὑπ' ἄντρον ὑπόστεγον", 'we have come down into this roofed cavern'. Fr. 128 describes the reign of Aphrodite in a former age. Neither passage seems relevant to our fragment.

Walther Kranz in his re-edition of Diels's *Vorsokratiker* left it where Diels had put it, as Parmenides 28 F 20, but also assigned it a number under Empedocles as 31 B 154d. In a note in the Parmenides section he writes, 'Parmenides nach Meineke, doch ohne zureichenden Grund; eher "Orpheus" oder Empedokles (Fr. 120. 128 vergleicht Reinhardt)'. For the style of the verses he compares '1 B 17ff.', that is, the 'Orphic' Gold Leaves. There is indeed a similarity, in that there too we see directions being given in hexameters on how

[9] A. Dieterich, *Nekyia* (Leipzig 1893), 191–3.

[10] K. Reinhardt, *Parmenides und die Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie* (Frankfurt 1916), 46 n. 1.

to find, by reference to something already encountered, the right path to follow to a desirable goal. But our fragment clearly does not come from instructions for the dead, and it is hard to imagine in what other kind of Orphic poem it might have had a place.

Its style may have been humorously modelled on that of some mystical text, or of oracles. But its content suggests that it belonged in some less serious type of composition—broadly speaking, in entertainment literature. I have two more specific possibilities to suggest.

(1) It appears to be imparting knowledge that is the common property of adult humanity. In what circumstances did someone need such instruction? There was one I^{374} man who notoriously did not know the facts of life and who, when he married, had to be instructed in them: Margites, the incompetent simpleton whose comical adventures were the subject of a narrative poem ascribed to Homer. It was composed, perhaps in the late sixth century, in an irregular mixture of hexameters and iambic trimeters. It was still current in the second century CE, as appears from its presence in two papyri of that date.[11]

When Margites got married he did not not know what he was supposed to do in bed (fr. 4 W.). As Eustathius reports it, 'he did not fall upon his bride until she, at her mother's instigation, pretended to have suffered a wound in her lower parts, and said that no remedy would be of any help except for a male member being fitted to the place: so it was that he made love to her, for therapeutic purposes.' According to Hesychius she pretended to have been bitten between the legs by a scorpion.

There is no hint in the testimonia that Margites received any guidance of the kind represented by our hexameter fragment. But it would not be difficult to fit it into the story. Before marrying he might have consulted an oracle and been given advice that included how to have sexual intercourse, and he might have been represented as too stupid to understand what he was told. The oracle would naturally have been framed in hexameters without admixture of trimeters.

[11] M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, Mass.–London 2003), 225–8 (introduction), 240–53 (testimonia and fragments); P. Oxy. 3963–4 = frr. 8–9 W.

It is a slight argument in favour of the attribution to the *Margites* that Hippolytus refers to the author of the fragment as ὁ ποιητής.[s3] This expression does not always mean Homer, as one may see from LSJ, but it does so in all five of the other passages where Hippolytus uses it: *Ref.* 5. 7. 32, 34, 8. 35, 20. 8; 8. 12. 1. Those are all references to the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. If he here meant 'Homer' *qua* author of the *Margites*, it need not follow that he was personally acquainted with the work and knew the fragment in its context. It would be hard then to understand quite how he arrived at the interpretation which he gives it. Assume a middleman, and it becomes easier to imagine.

(2) Alternatively we may consider an origin for the fragment in Attic comedy. A slight pointer in this direction is given by its final phrase, πολυτιμήτου Ἀφροδίτης. The adjective is not a conventional one of the epic language. It is first attested in Epicharmus (88. 1 K.–A.), applied to the fish ἔλοψ. As an epithet of gods it is very frequent in invocations in Old Comedy: Pherecr. 166 K.–A. ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητ', Ar. *Ach.* 807 ὦ πολυτίμηθ' Ἡράκλεις, *Vesp.* 1001 ὦ πολυτίμητοι θεοί, etc.[12]

We might imagine a situation in which mock-solemn instruction in sex was given or reported on the authority of either an oracle or an esoteric book (perhaps by Orpheus). We find passages of hieratic or oracular hexameters in many places in comedy, e.g. Ar. *Eq.* 197–201, 1015–95, *Pax* 1063–1114, *Av.* 967–85, *Lys.* 770–6, frr. 29, 267; Eupolis 249; Cratinus 349–54; Diphilus 125.[13] For lubricious elements in such an oracle cf. Cratin. 354, μισηταὶ δὲ γυναῖκες ὀλίσβοισι χρήσονται.[14]

If our verses were represented as coming from an Orphic book or an oracle (possibly of Musaeus), some author before Hippolytus might have quoted them out l[375] of context as the teaching of Orpheus or Musaeus or whoever. The way would then have been open for Hippolytus to treat them as connected with the Mysteries.

[12] Also *Ach.* 759, *Eq.* 1390, *Nub.* 269, 293, 328, *Pax* 978, 1016, *Av.* 667, *Thesm.* 286, 594, *Ran.* 323, 337, 398, fr. 336. 1 K.–A.

[13] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921), 348 f.

[14] Frr. 222–3 of the same author might also be thought to offer some analogy to our fragment, in that they come from a passage in which Perseus was given travel directions. And for the style of ἔστιν ἁρπακτός cf. Eup. 249 ἔστι δέ τις θήλεια Φιλόξενος ἐκ Διομείων.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

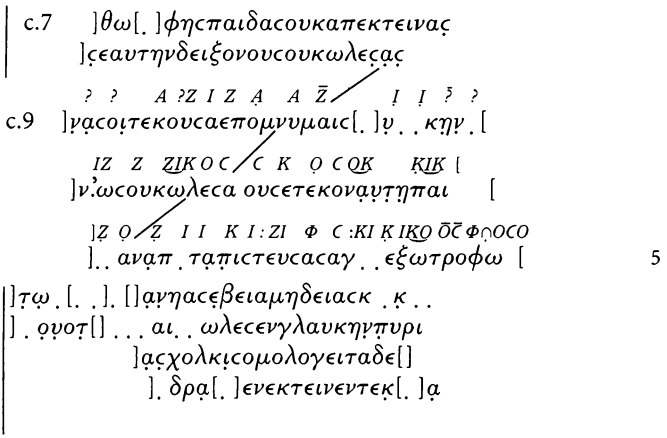
1. After this article was published Walter Burkert reminded me that he had discussed the verses over twenty years ago in his paper 'Die betretene Wiese. Interpretenprobleme im Bereich der Sexualsymbolik' in H. P. Duerr (ed.), *Die wilde Seele. Zur Ethnopsychoanalyse von Georges Devereux* (Frankfurt 1987), 32–46, at 40–2. He correctly identified their subject matter, and anticipated my suggestion of the *Margites* as their source.
2. Another parallel perhaps in *Margites* fr. 9 (P. Oxy. 3964), 3]*νε̣ν̣ ἄ̣λσεσι*, 4]*σ̣σ' Ἀφρο̣δί̣τ̣η̣ς*. See further Burkert (as in n. 1), 37–40.
3. This argument is emphasized by Burkert (as in n. 1), 41.

26

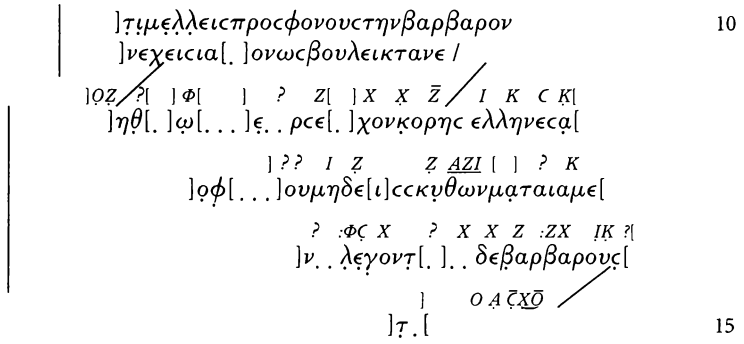
A New Musical Papyrus:
Carcinus, *Medea*

The papyrus is one of a group acquired by the Louvre in 1891 (Antiquités égyptiennes inv. E 10534). It was bought from a dealer in Cairo, and its original provenance is not known. It is dated to the second century CE. It was published only very recently, by Annie Bélis in *CRAI* 2004 fasc. 3, 1305–29; the fascicle appeared in our libraries in summer 2006.

It contains parts of fourteen lines of poetic text; the upper margin is preserved, and some of the line-ends. Lines 3–5 and 12–14 are provided with musical notation, written in the same hand and ink as the text, and following line 14 there was at least one more line with music. The verso is blank. Here is a transcription:



ZPE 161 (2007), 1–10, revised in the light of a photograph kindly shared with me by Dr Maria Chiara Martinelli (Pisa). The new readings are incorporated in the transcript above. In the rest of the paper paragraphs that I have modified are marked with an initial asterisk.



It is immediately evident that the text comes from a tragedy about Medea. The names of Medea, Jason, and Glauke are all there, and no less than three references to children who have or have not been killed. Although there are no overlaps with any known fragments, Mme Bélis has succeeded in identifying the play as the *Medea* of the younger Carcinus, one of the leading playwrights of the period between about 380 and 350.

ANALYSIS AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT

The lines without music (1–2 and 6–11) are clearly iambic trimeters written *κατὰ στίχον* in the usual manner. It is true that the first line, ending as it does *οὐκ ἀπέκτεινας*, does not immediately look like an l^2 iambic trimeter. Bélis notes that it is metrically irregular but nevertheless accepts it as part of a trimeter. Of course this will not do; the spondee in the sixth foot is not an irregularity, it is an impossibility. But the solution is easy: *ἀπέκτεινας* is a simple error for either *ἀπέκτανες*[1] or *ἀπέκτονας*. Compare Aesch. *Eum.* 587 *τὴν μητέρ' εἰπὲ πρῶτον εἰ κατέκτονας* and 591 *εἰπεῖν γε μέντοι δεῖ σ' ὅπως κατέκτανες*.

The lines with music, as Bélis has seen, are also iambic trimeters, only they are not written *κατὰ στίχον* but continuously—like prose, except that prose would not be written in such wide blocks. This format is normal in musical papyri, where verse is written out with no colometry and a specially wide column is used.[2] Here it can be

[1] Suggested by Richard Kannicht (personal communication).
[2] See W. A. Johnson, *JHS* 120 (2000), 66–8.

seen that the lines accompanied by musical notation extend further to the right than the lines without it; and they must have extended further to the left too, so that they and the lines without music were all centred on the same plumbline. At the end of each sung trimeter the musical notes are marked off from what follows by a large oblique stroke, a form of diastole. It is evident that one trimeter ends in line 3 with ἐπόμνυμαι; this is further to the left than the ends of the spoken trimeters above, and the line must also have begun further to the left. In each of the next two lines the trimeter-end is displaced further to the left, and the three lines of writing accommodate four trimeters. In 12ff. there were at least five trimeters in four lines of writing.

Let us look more closely at what is going on. In the first two lines someone is evidently addressing Medea: 'you say, you have not killed the boys'. Then in the first of the passages with music Medea responds, denying emphatically that she has done that: 'I swear ... that I have not destroyed the boys that I myself bore.' In line 3 the word before τεκοῦσα can only be σοί, so far as I can see, from which it follows that the person to whom she is responding is Jason.[3] In the next group of lines without music, 6–11, a third person speaks, referring to Medea in the third person and addressing Jason in the second. (It is theoretically possible that these lines are not all spoken by the same person, but I see nothing to suggest it.) This speaker holds a position of authority; he declares that Medea is guilty, and gives Jason leave to put her to death. Then comes another burst of song. There is nothing in what is left of it to show who the singer is, but I assume it to be Medea again. Bélis thinks it is Jason, but for no good reason.

We have before us, then, a scene from a Medea play in which three actors are taking part in an impassioned debate about the heroine's guilt in the matter of her children's death. The debate is conducted throughout in the iambic trimeters typical of tragic dialogue. But Medea's two interventions are set to music.

Before commenting further on this I must explain the basis for the identification of the author as Carcinus. In the first two lines Jason challenges Medea: 'you say, you have not killed the boys'. I suppose

[3] Cf. Eur. *Med.* 1337f. (Jason to Medea) καὶ τεκοῦσά μοι τέκνα | εὐνῆς ἕκατι καὶ λέχους σφ' ἀπώλεσας.

that it was ὡ[ς] φῄς,[4] and a conditional clause, 'if, as you say, you have not killed the boys'; then in the next line δεῖξον οὓς οὐκ ὤλεσας, 'produce these ones you have not killed, let us see them'. Before δεῖξον, a phrase '(do something to) yourself', most likely 'save yourself', ῥῦσαι] σεαυτήν, as in Soph. *OT* 312 ῥῦσαι σεαυτόν. This challenge to produce the children implies that they are missing, but no bodies have been found. There is some mystery about their whereabouts. Now, Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1400b8 (Carcinus II, *TrGF* 70 F 1e), tells us that in Carcinus' *Medea* 'they accuse her of killing her children, on the ground that they are nowhere to be seen'. He cites the play for examples of an accusation and a defence based on errors of commission or omission:

ἄλλος τόπος τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτηθέντων κατηγορεῖν ἢ ἀπολογεῖσθαι, οἷον ἐν τῇι Καρκίνου Μηδείαι οἱ μὲν κατηγοροῦσιν ὅτι τοὺς παῖδας ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ φαίνεσθαι γοῦν αὐτούς· ἥμαρτε γὰρ ἡ Μήδεια περὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τῶν παίδων. ἢ δ' ἀπολογεῖται ὅτι οὐκ ἂν τοὺς παῖδας ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰάσονα ἂν ἀπέκτεινεν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἥμαρτεν ἂν μὴ ποιήσασα, εἴπερ καὶ θάτερον ἐποίησεν.

I[3] Another topos is accusation or defence based on things done in error; as in Carcinus' *Medea* they accuse her of killing her children, on the ground that they are nowhere to be seen; for Medea had made a mistake in sending them away. She defends herself by arguing that she would have killed not her children but Jason; for it would have been a mistake not to do that if she had done the other.

This accusation of Medea supported by the unavailability of the children corresponds so well with what is happening in our fragment that I have no doubt that Bélis is right in identifying the play as the one by Carcinus. There can hardly have been two Medea plays in which this argument was used or possible. There is nothing in the text that is out of keeping with its attribution to a fourth-century tragedian.

Aristotle tells us further that the reason why Medea was unable to produce the children was that she had sent them away; this was her mistake. Why was it a mistake? Perhaps just because it left her in her present predicament, unable to prove her innocence; but I shall argue later that it was disastrous in another way, one that fits more squarely into Aristotle's concept of the tragic ἁμαρτία.

[4] So also Kannicht.

*In answer to Jason Medea swears an oath, apparently by a Scythian deity if the letters at the beginning of her second trimeter are rightly read. Bélis suggests Σκυθικὴν Ἑ[κάτην, but while it is acceptable to have an anapaest in the first foot or in a proper name, to have both licences together in the first two feet seems dubious.[51] At the beginning of 3, perhaps 'having borne you the finest of children', ἄριστα τέκ]νᾳ σοὶ τεκοῦσ'.

After the gap, the content of the oath: ὡς οὐκ ὤλεσα οὓς ἔτεκον. For the next word, where I read αὐτῇ, Bélis reads οὐδέν. That would at least scan, though it does not look to me like what was written; and what is the sense going to be? It turns out that Bélis has determined to work into the text the argument that Aristotle says Medea used in her defence, namely that she would sooner have killed Jason than her children. The anonymous commentator on the *Rhetoric* (*CAG* xxi(2). 146. 1) paraphrases Aristotle's statement with a little expansion:

ἡ δὲ ἀπολογεῖται ὅτι εἰ ἔμελλον ἀποκτεῖναι, τὸν Ἰάσονα ἂν ἀπέκτεινα ὡς λυπήσαντα, οὐχὶ τοὺς παῖδας· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ παῖδές με ἐλύπησαν.

She defends herself by saying 'If I had been going to kill, I would have killed Jason who hurt me, not the children—the children did not hurt me'.

Bélis supposes the last clause, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ παῖδές με ἐλύπησαν, to be a nearly verbatim quotation from Carcinus, and accordingly proposes to supplement the line before us as οὓς ἔτεκον· οὐδὲν παῖ[δές με ἐλύπησ]αν. As in her treatment of the first line, she succeeds only in making an unfortunate exhibition of her lack of training in elementary metre. Incidentally, she also takes Aristotle's words about Medea being accused ὅτι τοὺς παῖδας ἀπέκτεινεν as a semi-quotation of the first line of our fragment with its unmetrical ἀπέκτεινας: 'Grâce à sa précision, qui va jusqu'à citer la fin du trimètre de Carcinos avec sa pénultième longue irrégulière, le passage de la *Rhétorique*, complété par ses commentateurs antiques, identifient catégoriquement et l'auteur et la pièce' (1314).

*But assuming that Carcinus wrote οὓς ἔτεκον αὐτῇ παῖ[δας, how did Medea's protestation continue? I see no way of accommodating the argument that Aristotle attributes to her; that must have come in another passage, or perhaps what we have in our papyrus is only an abridged version of what was a much longer speech in the original. As I shall explain below, what we have here is not to be taken as a fragment from a complete text of the play but as an excerpt for a professional singer's use. The two words that do

seem recognizable in Medea's last verse are πιστεύσασα and τροφῶι, 'entrusting . . . to a nurse'. She was surely explaining what she *had* done with the children: 'I did not kill the sons that I myself bore, but sent them away in the care of a nurse'; οὐκ ὤλεσα | οὓς ἔτεκον ⟨αὐ⟩τῇ παῖ[δας, ἐξέπεμψα δέ] | ανα̣π̣ . τα̣ π̣ιστεύσασα γῆς ἔξω τροφῶι. γῆς ἔξω has been correctly read by Ferrari, who compares Eur. *Med.* 272 τῆσδε γῆς ἔξω περᾶν. I have not succeeded in reading the word before πιστεύσασα; that a vowel stood between π and τ seems guaranteed by the musical note above.

l[4] *The third person present on the stage now denounces Medea. I have not managed to restore his first sentence, but I suppose he is saying that her wickedness is already established. ὤλεσεν Γλαύκην̣ π̣υρί, we know she has killed Glauke with fire; ὁμολογεῖ τάδε, she admits that; so there is no doubt that she has done this too, killed the children.

Glauke was of course the new wife that Jason had taken at Corinth. In Euripides she never appears on stage and we are never told her name, but Glauke is the name she bears in the main mythographical sources, as well as in the Hypothesis and scholia to Euripides' play. Fire is a prominent motif in the accounts of her death. In Euripides the golden crown that she puts on (a gift from Medea) sends forth a stream of all-devouring fire (*Med.* 1187), the dress consumes her flesh, and she leaps up and rushes away πυρουμένη. She tosses her head and hair in the vain attempt to rid herself of the crown, but this makes the fire flare up with twice the strength (1194). Apollodorus (1. 9. 28) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 25. 3) also lay emphasis on her being overcome by a conflagration. Pausanias (2. 3. 6) records a Corinthian legend that she had given her name to a local fountain by throwing herself into it in the attempt to quench the burning.

*The word Κολχίς (8) must be intended to discredit Medea further. In Euripides' play Jason says that no Greek woman would ever have done this (killed her children), 1339 οὐκ ἔστιν ἥτις τοῦτ' ἂν Ἑλληνὶς γυνή | ἔτλη ποτέ. Medea, the present speaker is saying, is a proven bad character, so we can infer that the children's demise is her work too: καὶ τοῦτο δῆτ'] ἔ̣δρα[σ]εν· ἔκτεινεν τέ̣κ̣[ν]α. So what are you waiting for, Jason? εἶέν,] τ̣ί̣ μ̣έ̣λ̣λ̣εις; (=*PV* 36). πρὸς φόνους τὴν βάρβαρον something ἔχεις. Probably an infinitive at the beginning of 11 such as ἄ̣γει]ν, so that the sense is 'you are free to take her to be executed'. But I admit to being a little troubled by the plural φόνους: I would expect it to refer to plural killings, such

as those that Medea has been found guilty of. So conceivably the missing word was an adjective meaning 'prone to': 'this barbarian woman you have is prone to commit murders'.

*I have not managed to make much of Medea's second outburst. The first long oblique stroke in the musical line indicates that the trimeter began two or three letters before]ηθ̣[, so that the η must almost certainly have been the vowel of the second syllable. Who is the κόρη? Surely Glauke, to whom Euripides repeatedly applies this term (309, 324, 375, 1125, [1234]). The Greek–barbarian antithesis comes up again, but here—if I am right in assuming that these are Medea's words—it will be drawn in the barbarians' favour and to the discredit of the Greeks. Ἕλληνες looks like nominative plural (rather than vocative, or Ἕλλην' ἐς), picked up by λέγοντ[ε]ς two lines later. Greeks, she observes scornfully, do something that no Scythian would, μάταια μὲν something or other λέγοντες, whereas I who come from barbarian stock (possibly ᾗ δὲ βαρβάρου ϙ[πορᾶς ἄπο) .... This is the second mention of Scythia in the piece, if Σκυθικ- is rightly read in line 4. Is Carcinus running Colchians together with Scythians? Sophocles in his *Skythai* had set Medea's murder of her brother Apsyrtos in Scythia; that was when the Argo was part way home, but it might have strengthened an association between the two ethnic terms. Scythia is also mentioned in an anonymous fragment of tragic lyric about Medea, Trag. adesp. 701.[5]

*Here now is a restored text of the fragment, incorporating the above suggestions.

Jason	εἰ δ' – ∪]θ' ὡ[c] φὴς παῖδας οὐκ ἀπέκτονας,
	ῥῦcαι] ϲεαυτήν, δεῖξον οὕς οὐκ ὤλεϲας.
Medea	ἄριστα τέκ]νϙ coὶ τεκοῦc' ἐπόμνυμαι
	Cκϙθικὴν [μεγίστην δαίμο]ν', ὡc οὐκ ὤλεca
	οὕc ἔτεκον ϙὐτὴ παῖ[δας, ἐξέπεμψα δέ]
	ανϙπ . τϙ πιστεύcaca γῆς ἔξω τροφῶι.
Creon[6]	τϙω . [. .]. []ϙν ἡ ἀc[έ]βεια Μηδείας, κϙκῆς
	. ϙνοτ[]. . . αι . ὤλεcεν Γλαύκην πυρί
	]ϙς Κολχίc· ὁμολογεῖ τάδε·
	καὶ τοῦτο δῆτ'] ἔδρα[c]εν· ἔκτεινεν τέκ[ν]α.
	εἶέν,] τί μέλλεις; πρὸc φόνους τὴν βάρβαρον
	ἄγει]ν ἔχεις, Ἰᾶ[c]ον· ὡc βούλει κτάνε.

[5] Cf. also *PMG* adesp. 930.

[6] For this attribution see below.

Medea . . .]ηθ̣[.]ω̣[. . .]ε̣. . ρcε[.]χον κόρηc
Ἕλληνεc α̣[ ]ο̣φ̣[. . .]ου μηδεὶc Cκυθῶν,
μάταια μὲ[ν]ν . .
λ̣έ̣γ̣οντ̣[ε]c̣, ἡ̣ δὲ βαρβάρου c[πορᾶc ἄπο

THE PLOT OF THE PLAY

Can we say more about the plot of Carcinus' play? I think we can, although the new fragment really adds nothing to what could have been inferred before.

First of all, we have the cardinal fact that when this inquisition of Medea takes place, the children are missing. Missing, presumed dead, but the details of their fate are, I imagine, yet to be revealed. We cannot suppose that Medea has in fact killed them and concealed the bodies. What would be the dramatic purpose of such a move? In any case we have it on Aristotle's authority that the children are not there because she has sent them away: if she has sent them away, she has not killed them, and she is being falsely accused.

The idea of a Medea tragedy in which she does not kill her children may surprise some readers. They may think that it negates the whole essence of Medea. What is she, if not the woman who killed her children? Well, that is what Euripides made her, and so that is what everyone associates her with above all else. But the fact is that there were other versions of the myth besides Euripides'. As Page points out in the introduction to his edition of Euripides' play, the essential feature of the myth was that the children died, somehow or other, and the point of this was that there was a cult of them associated with the shrine of Hera Akraia at Corinth. The myth served to explain who these holy dead children were and how they came to be there.

In the epic *Korinthiaka* attributed to Eumelus, which I date to the sixth century,[7] the story was that Jason and Medea had moved from Iolkos to Corinth because the Corinthians, being without a king at the time, had invited her, as the daughter of their former king Aietes, to come and be their queen (fr. 20 West). Whenever she had a baby, she would take it into the temple of Hera and bury it there, believing

[7] *JHS* 122 (2002), 130 f. [= *Hellenica* i. 386–9].

that this would make it immortal. Eventually she realized that it was not working, and Jason found out what she was doing. He had no sympathy with her explanations but left her and sailed off back to Iolkos. She then departed too, transferring the sovereignty to Sisyphos (fr. 23). So in that version she did kill the children, but without intending to, and it was nothing to do with Jason's attachment to another woman.

According to the historian Creophylus of Ephesus (417 F 3), who probably wrote in the fourth or third century, Medea killed Creon, the ruler of Corinth—we are not told why—and then fled to Athens, fearing the vengeance of his friends and relations. As her sons were too young to make the journey, she placed them on the altar of Hera Akraia, thinking that Jason would respect their sanctuary, but Creon's οἰκεῖοι killed them and spread the false tale that she had done it. So here Medea, although a murderess, is not guilty of killing her children. Her flight to Athens is presumably derived from Euripides. On the other hand, the motif that the children were at risk from Creon's relations is already known to Euripides, because in *Med.* 1301–5, just after they have been killed by Medea, he makes Jason come looking for them in order to save them from the vengeance of the royal family.

16 Another version of the myth is reported from the Alexandrian grammarian Parmeniscus, a pupil of Aristarchus (sch. Eur. *Med.* 9). The women of Corinth, not wanting to have a barbarian witch as their queen, killed her children, seven boys and seven girls. They had fled to the shrine of Hera Akraia and taken refuge there, but the Corinthians did not hold back even then but slaughtered them all on the altar. The city was then visited by a plague, and people died in large numbers. They consulted the oracle and were told to expiate the pollution of Medea's children. So the Corinthians every year, up to the present time, make seven boys and seven girls of the leading families serve for a year in the goddess's precinct and propitiate her anger and the children's μῆνις with sacrifices.

So what happened in Carcinus' play? Were the children killed, and if so, by whom? Let us turn again to the anonymous commentator on the *Rhetoric.* He has two separate pieces of comment on Aristotle's reference to Carcinus. The first, which I have quoted above, is nothing but an expanded paraphrase of what Aristotle says. The second appears nearly a page later, after notes on other topics. I suppose it represents information that the commentator belatedly

noticed in one of his predecessors and inserted out of sequence. At any rate it goes beyond what is in Aristotle. *CAG* xxi(2). 146. 30:

πρὸς τὴν Γλαύκην, ἣν ἀνελάβετο ὁ Ἰάσων, ἔπεμψεν ἡ Μήδεια τοὺς αὑτῆς παῖδας, καὶ πτοηθεῖσα, μὴ ἀναιρεθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων τῆς Γλαύκης, προανηιρέθησαν παρ' αὐτῆς.

Medea sent her own children to Glauke, whom Jason had made his wife, and being afraid that they would be done away with by Glauke's servants, they were done away with by herself first.

Aristotle tells us that Medea had sent her children away; here we are told where she sent them. And this source speaks of Glauke, who is not named either in Aristotle or in Euripides but who, as the new papyrus confirms, did have this name in Carcinus.

We also know for sure from the papyrus that Medea killed Glauke. This ties in with the commentator's statement that she was afraid the children might be in danger from Glauke's servants. Glauke herself might have hated the children, as she is said to do in Euripides (1145–52), and might have planned to harm them. But the commentator does not say Medea was afraid they would be killed by Glauke, but by Glauke's servants, *scilicet* after Glauke had been disposed of. The situation is parallel to that in Creophylus, where Medea killed Creon and was then afraid (for herself and the children) of the vengeance of Creon's friends and relatives; but where Creophylus had Creon, Carcinus had Glauke.

So far, so good; but beyond this the commentator's note seems to make no sense. If Medea sent the children to Glauke, that must have been before Glauke's death. But why send them to Glauke? Perhaps, as in Euripides, to give her the poisoned robe and crown. But how does that relate to the sending away that Aristotle refers to, a journey from which the children did not return? The fear of Glauke's servants should have been the motivation for sending the children away. Did Medea first send them to Glauke with the deadly gifts and then, after they returned from this mission, send them somewhere else for safe keeping?

And then we have the baffling anacolouthic statement, 'and she being afraid that they would be done away with by Glauke's servants, they were done away with by herself first'. Who is 'herself'? Medea or Glauke? It is conceivable that Medea might kill the children to prevent the worse fate of their being killed by her enemies. In Euripides she declares that she is resolved to kill them and not, by

delaying, expose them to death by another more hostile hand: 'since they have to die in any case, I will kill them who gave them birth' (1236–41, cf. 1380). But this interpretation would contradict the evidence that in Carcinus' play Medea did not kill the children but sent them away. The alternative is that 'herself' is Glauke. But how would this work?

I propose the following reconstruction of the plot. Jason, on marrying Creon's daughter Glauke, transferred his children to her household. Medea planned to kill Glauke, but was afraid that the children would then be in mortal danger from those in whose care they now were. She therefore contrived, probably with the help of a sympathetic servant of Jason's, to get them out of Glauke's house and send l[7] them to a place of safety—perhaps the temple of Hera Akraia. She then went through with the murder of Glauke. There was a hue and cry. Glauke was dead; and where were the children? Surely Medea had killed them too. She denied it, but was unable to prove her innocence by producing them alive and well. This is the scene represented by the papyrus fragment.

*Medea is threatened with execution. We cannot tell whether this was carried out in the event. In any case it was revealed at the end that her plan to assure the children's safety had failed, just as Andromache's attempt to send her child to a place of safety fails in Euripides (*Andr.* 309 f.). Glauke had discovered the plan, perhaps through betrayal by the servant appointed to implement it, and she had already succeeded in killing the children before she herself was killed. If Carcinus cared about the Corinthian cult, he will have made the arrangements for setting it up, perhaps through a *deus ex machina*.

If this is right, Aristotle's allusion to Medea's mistake in sending the children away takes on a sharper meaning. ἥμαρτε, he says; is this not just the sort of ἁμαρτία that he writes about in the *Poetics*, a human error of judgment that brings the tragic hero or heroine inexorably to disaster?

What role does Creon play, if any? In Euripides he appears as a character in the play and he is killed together with his daughter. In Carcinus everything seems to have been focused on Glauke. In the papyrus it is her death that is mentioned; it is possible that Creon was appended to her in the missing first half of line 8, though it does not look very likely. Perhaps more decisively, the naming of Glauke's servants rather than Creon's kinsmen as the ones whose vengeance

Medea fears implies concentration on Glauke as the victim. If Creon is not killed, he is the obvious candidate to be the third speaker in the papyrus, the one who condemns Medea and authorizes Jason to put her to death.

THE DATE OF THE MUSICAL SETTING

We now have about a dozen examples of tragic texts on papyrus accompanied by musical notation.[8] In most cases the author and play cannot be determined. Two of the earliest, copied in the third to early second century BCE, are from late plays of Euripides, the *Orestes* and the *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. Another papyrus of the same period bears the subscription Ἀχιλλεὺ[ς] Σοφοκλ[έους—perhaps Sophocles the younger, since we know of no play of this title by the great Sophocles. Of the rest, mostly from the second and third centuries CE, some at least may well be from fourth-century tragedy. With the new Louvre papyrus we have a fourth identifiable piece, and the author turns out to be the younger Carcinus.

Readers of Aristophanes will recall references in the *Clouds*, *Wasps*, and *Peace* to a tragedian Carcinus. That was the elder Carcinus (*TrGF* 21), who won a victory at the Dionysia in 446 and is mentioned by Thucydides as a general in 431, and of whose plays nothing seems to have survived after his own time. His son Xenocles was also a tragedian (*TrGF* 33); he won the competition at the Dionysia in 415, defeating Euripides' Trojan trilogy. His works too disappeared at an early date. Xenocles was the father of Carcinus the younger (*TrGF* 70), whose floruit is given as the 100th Olympiad, that is, 380–377. He was a major figure in his time.[9] He is said to have composed 160 plays—the highest number recorded for any tragedian—and to have won eleven victories. Aristotle refers to his works several times in the *Rhetoric*, *Poetics*, and *Nicomachean Ethics*, citing no less than five of his plays. He is also quoted by Lysias, Timaeus, Menander, and Athenaeus, and there are several excerpts in Stobaeus. The two

[8] *DAGM* nos. 3–5, 8–9, 17, 39–40, 42–3, 53–4.

[9] On him cf. T. B. L. Webster, *Hermes* 82 (1954), 300 f.; G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Studies in Fourth-Century Tragedy* (Athens 1980), 35 f.; Richard Kannicht and others, *Musa Tragica* (Göttingen 1991), 146–55, 288 f.

quotations in Athenaeus suggest that texts of some of his plays might still be found in some libraries in the second century CE.

Our papyrus, however, is not to be regarded as a fragment from a complete text of his *Medea* but as an excerpt. This is what the musical papyri typically are. The *Iphigeneia* papyrus (*DAGM* 4), for I[8] example, is demonstrably not a fragment from a copy of the whole play, nor even from a complete collection of the lyrics: it contains only excerpts from two separate lyric portions, and those in the wrong order. It must have been prepared not for a regular production of the play but for some sort of concert performance of highlights by a star vocalist. From later times there are several records of professional musicians performing songs from Euripides.[10] The Sophocles *Achilleus* papyrus (*DAGM* 5) may have contained the whole text of the play, but the lyrics with the musical notation were separated off from the rest and written on the back of the roll; the same may have been the case with another Achilles play represented on a Cologne papyrus.[11] The musical fragment from an *Ajax* preserved on a Berlin papyrus (*DAGM* 17) is just one of a series of five unrelated musical items on the same sheet.

The two Euripides pieces with music, the Sophocles *Achilleus*, the Ajax fragment, and most of the other specimens of tragic music are, as we might expect, lyric verse in various metres. In the Carcinus fragment, on the other hand, we have iambic trimeters, indistinguishable in style from normal spoken trimeters, set to music. We have two parallels for this in papyri from the Roman period. One is P. Oslo 1413a, containing two tragic excerpts of unrelated content (*DAGM* 39–40); the first is in anapaests, the second in iambic trimeters, apparently the prologue of a *Philoctetes*. The other is P. Michigan 2958, again with two separate excerpts from tragedies (*DAGM* 42–3). The first at least (and possibly the second too) is in iambic trimeters, a dialogue scene between Orestes, just returned to Argos, and an old servant who does not at first recognize him and then is filled with joy when he realizes who it is. At the moment of recognition the dialogue is interrupted by a line of instrumental melody.

The poetic texts of these fragments are perfectly compatible with an early date of composition, such as the fourth century. The music,

[10] See my *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992), 376–8.
[11] P. Köln 241; cf. *ZPE* 129 (1999), 43.

however, bears the hallmarks of a much later period. I have no doubt that these are not examples of trimeter passages designed from the start to be sung, preserved with music as old as the verse. They represent a late practice by professional singers of taking emotional passages of speech or dialogue from old tragedies and setting them to music with a view to performing them as recital items.

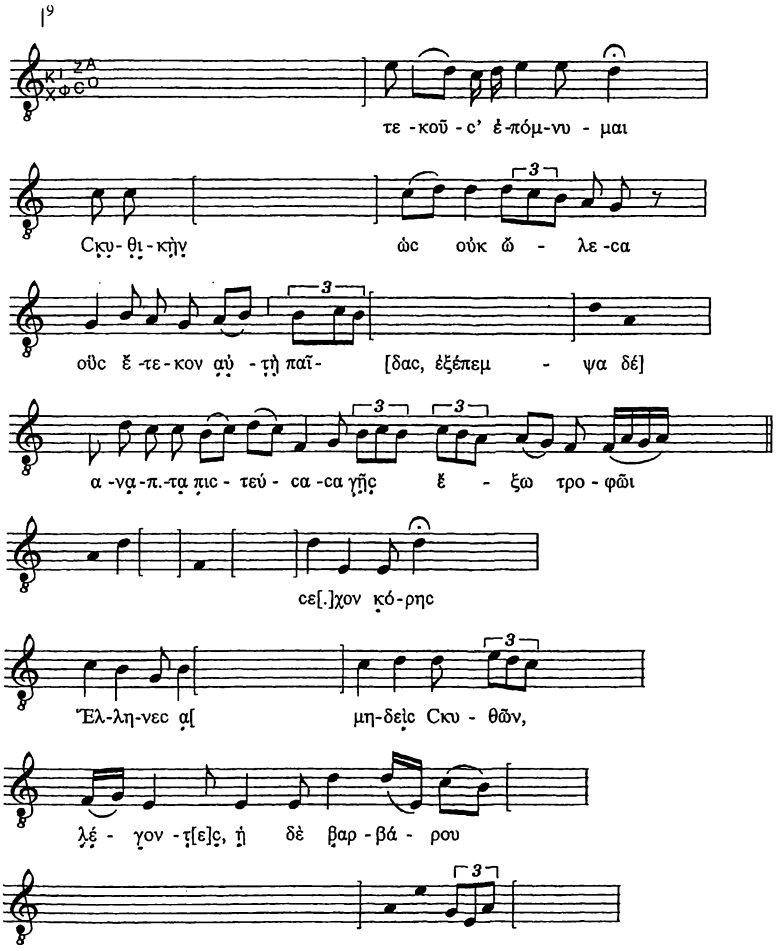
The same will be true of the Carcinus scene. He wrote it all as spoken dialogue. If he had wanted Medea to sing, he would have composed lyrics for her. That he did compose lyrics is confirmed by an anecdote in Athenaeus (351f) about his Athenian contemporary, the citharist Stratonicus, who was famous for his wisecracks. Stratonicus heard someone singing an aria and asked who it was by. He received the answer, *Καρκίνου*, which of course could mean either 'Carcinus' or 'a crab'; whereupon Stratonicus remarked, 'Right, I didn't think it was by a human being' (*πολύ γε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπου*). So these musical settings will not be by Carcinus. They will be not much if at all older than the papyrus itself.

Bélis supposes that the music is Carcinus' own. She writes with joyous enthusiasm of his restrained, conservative style of composition and his admirable setting of Medea's words. 'Le papyrus du Louvre fait plus qu'ajouter quinze vers aux fragments de Carcinos le Jeune. Il nous livre un témoin de l'art d'un poète et d'un compositeur dont nous découvrons la profondeur et la subtilité musicales' (1328). Her error has already been pointed out by Egert Pöhlmann in a paper delivered in Athens.

THE MUSIC

Finally the music itself. The number of different notes used is quite limited. There are just eight: *A Z I K O C Φ X*. These are the notes of a simple diatonic scale covering a single octave in the Ionian *tonos* or key. In the accompanying transcription I have transposed it up a semitone so that it falls wholly on the 'white' notes from e to e′′.[12] At the original pitch the melody lay comfortably in the range of a baritone or tenor voice.[12]

[12] For the method of establishing the original pitch see *Ancient Greek Music*, 273–6.



So it is a man who sings Medea's part. This is not particularly surprising: we know that in classical tragedy women's parts were played by men. However, *DAGM* 17, the Ajax fragment on the Berlin papyrus, which is a lament in Tecmessa's mouth, is set in a high register for a woman's voice, so there clearly were female vocalists who might perform a tragic heroine's song. On the other hand we are told that Nero delighted in singing the parts of various tragic heroes and heroines, gods and goddesses, wearing the appropriate masks and acting out their torments; Canace in labour was one of his most notorious numbers (Suet. *Nero* 21, Dio Cass. 63. 10. 2).

Harmonically this music is very straightforward. It keeps to the regular notes of the Ionian scale with no modulations or accidentals. For much of the time the melodic line runs smoothly, moving between adjacent notes, though in the second sung passage there are some wider intervals. The contours of the word accents are followed for the most part, though strikingly violated in κόρης.

The fact that the music is diatonic and not chromatic or enharmonic—in other words, that the scale intervals are all tones or semitones, neither larger nor smaller—is one of the features that points to Imperial rather than pre-Hellenistic date. Another is the extent to which syllables are divided between notes. In music of the classical period, so far as we know, a short syllable was always sung on one note, while a long syllable might be sung on one note or divided between two. By the second and third centuries CE there was an increasing tendency towards a more melismatic style. Short syllables were occasionally divided between two notes, and long ones between three or sometimes four, in exceptional cases even more. In the Carcinus papyrus the bunching of note-symbols over certain syllables shows that they are divided; sometimes the notes have a slur underneath them or a double point in front of them to show that they are bracketed together. In the last line we have two instances of a pair of notes over a short syllable: :ΦϚ over the λε of λέγοντες, and :ZX over the middle syllable of βαρβάρους[. In line 4 above the ω of ὤλεσα there is a cluster of three notes, and towards the end of line 5 a plethora of notes, twelve of them for the singing of five syllables. Carcinus never wrote such music, or heard it.

There is another point of interest in line 3, at σοὶ τεκοῦσα ἐπόμνυμαι. In normal spoken delivery the final vowel of τεκοῦσα would be elided before ἐπόμνυμαι, as it must be in order to scan properly. |[10] But here it is not only written with *scriptio plena* but the elided vowel is provided with its own musical note, distinct from that on ἐπ-. The same phenomenon can be found in two other musical papyri of the time, P. Oxy. 2436 ii 3 (*DAGM* 38; trochaic tetrameter, perhaps a satyr play) ηὐτέκνησα ἐγώ and P. Oslo 1413a. 16 (*DAGM* 40; iambic trimeter) ἀναμείξας δὲ ὁμοῦ. More often the elided syllable is elided, but evidently there were some singer-composers who had the mannerism of pronouncing it and giving it its own note, τεκοῦσα ἐπόμνυμαι, as in *la donna è mobile.* I wonder if the influence of Latin had anything to do with it.

As an addition to the corpus of fragments of Greek music, this new piece is of no great interest or moment. Its greater importance is as an addition to our knowledge of fourth-century tragedy.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. On seeing my paper Walter Burkert suggested *Σκυθικ[ὸν μέγιστον ὅρκο]ν*, comparing Thuc. 5. 18. 9=47. 8 *ὀμνύντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὅρκον ἑκάτεροι τὸν μέγιστον*. One then recalls Soph. fr. 582 *Ἥλιε, φιλίπποις Θρηιξὶ πρέσβιστον σέλας* (*σέβας* Bothe). F. Ferrari has proposed *Σκυθικὴν ἐ[μὴν δέσποινα]ν*. I now read c[.]υ. . κηγ. [, and restore *Σκυθικὴν μ[εγίστην δαίμο]ν'*. There is perhaps an elision-mark in the next line before *ὡς*. Just before, however, we have seen *scriptio plena*, *τεκουσα επομνυμαι*, with the originally elided vowel sung on a separate note.
2. I am most grateful to Dr Bonnie Blackburn for converting my hand-written transcription into printed form for the present publication.

27

The Song of Arion the Dolphin-rider (*PMG* 939)

This interesting composition preserved by Aelian suffers from undeserved neglect and unrecognized corruption. It is in the l^6 polymetric, linguistically exuberant style of the late fifth- or earlier fourth-century dithyramb. Colometry and text must be considered together.

In the opening invocation, *ὕψιστε θεῶν, πόντιε χρυσοτρίαινε* (or *-να*) *Πόσειδον γαιάοχε* †*ἐγκυμονάλμαν*, the phrase *πόντιε χρυσοτρίαινε Πόσειδον* stands out as a clear dactylic colon. It remains so even if *Πόσειδον* is intrusive, a possibility which I think should be considered; I find two other glosses later. *ὕψιστε θεῶν* may be either an iambic metron – – ∪ – or – – ∪ ∪ –, the latter alternative being favoured by the occurrence of this colarion in 6 *κούφοισι ποδῶν*, 12 *οἵ μ' εἰς Πέλοπος*, 18 *φῶτες δόλιοι* (see below). For *ἐγκυμονάλμαν* (*ἐγκύμον* or *-ου ἄλμας* Tzetz. sch. *Chil.* p. 550 Leone) Hermann conjectured *ἐγκύμον' ⟨ἀν'⟩ ἄλμαν*. *ἄλμαν* is likely to be right, though *-κύμονα λίμναν* would be an easy change. *ἐγκύμων* is not otherwise used of the sea, so far as I know. It is a conceivable use with reference to the teeming life of the deep, but still surprising as a general epithet. *βαθυ-* or *πολυκύμονα* would be normal, and it is here that the corruption may lie. What is the relationship to be restored between the god and the sea? Not just (I think) that he is in it, but that he is its master. We require something like *ἕ⟨χων βαθυ⟩κύμον' ἄλμαν*. For the metrical pattern (–)D ∪ – – cf. Aristonoos 2. 12 (*Coll. Alex.* 165), *μούνα πυρὸς*

From 'Metrical Analyses: Timotheos and Others', *ZPE* 45 (1982), 1–13, at 5–9, with footnote numbered 14.

ἀμφιέπουσα βωμούς; Aristotle *PMG* 842. 1 and 21; Anon. *PMG* 1019. 3 and 8.

In 4–5 the manuscripts give βράγχιοι περὶ δέ σε πλωτοὶ θῆρες χορεύουσι κύκλωι. Gills must belong to the following dolphins, not to Poseidon, so we shall accept Page's transposition δὲ περί. Like most editors (apart from Diehl, who retains the impossible βράγχιοι) Page adopts Hermann's βραγχίοις. It is hard to imagine why. Do dolphins dance with their gills? Of course not, any more than Nereids dance with their noses. The poet has not failed to provide an instrumental dative, and it is κούφοισι ποδῶν ῥίμμασιν. Or is βραγχίοις supposed to qualify πλωτοί? No, surely βράγχιοι is the relic of a compound adjective, e.g. ⟨λιπαρο⟩βράγχιοι. This releases us from the metrical awkwardness of a trochaic $|^7$ dimeter followed by – – ∪ – (cf. [*ZPE* 45 (1982), 1] on Tim. *Pers.* 40–2). It can all be read as iambic.

7–11 ἐλάφρ' ἀναπαλλόμενοι σιμοὶ
φριξαύχενες ὠκύδρομοι σκύλακες φιλόμουσοι
δελφῖνες, ἔναλα θρέμματα
κουρᾶν Νηρεΐδων θεᾶν,
ἃς ἐγείνατ' Ἀμφιτρίτα.

Nothing metrically impossible here, but two slight oddities: the dragged σιμοί and the *brevis in longo* (θρέμμα)τα. We obtain a more regular arrangement of dactylic phrases by transporting σιμοί after ὠκύδρομοι: ∪ D | – D | – D –. I strongly suspect δελφῖνες of being a gloss. If so, ἔναλα θρέμματα κουρᾶν becomes a pherecratean, Νηρεΐδων θεᾶν a dodrans. There is one further correction to be made: ἃς should be οὕς. Amphitrite was never the mother of the Nereids, she was one of their number, and the wife of Poseidon. It is the dolphins that are here represented as her children; cf. *Od.* 5. 421–2, κῆτος . . . οἷά τε πολλὰ τρέφει κλυτὸς Ἀμφιτρίτη; 12. 97, [Theoc.] 21. 55, Opp. *Hal.* 1. 2 πλωτὸν γένος Ἀμφιτρίτης, *Ciris* 486. In Homer she just nourishes them. For this poet, as for Oppian, she bore them, the other Nereids nursed them; ἐγείνατο complements θρέμματα.[1]

Hiatus after Ἀμφιτρίτα indicates period-end; but we have seen that a trochaic dimeter at period-end is to be viewed with suspicion.

[1] Cf. *Il.* 2. 548 ὅν ποτ' Ἀθήνη | θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα; Ibyc. *PMGF* 288; Soph. *Tr.* 834 (as emended by Lobeck).

We could avoid it by writing *γείνατ'*. But I am rather attracted by the idea of transposing the phrase *Σικελῶι ἐνὶ πόντωι* from 14 to follow *Ἀμφιτρίτα* (E D – ‖). As it stands it produces a *hysteron proteron* effect: 'you who conveyed me to the Peloponnese, to Tainaron, when I was adrift in the Sicilian sea'. With the transposition the dolphins are defined more closely as the dolphins of Sicilian waters, from where they carry Arion to Tainaron. *οὓς ἐγείνατ' Ἀμφιτρίτα Σικελῶι ἐνὶ* |[8] *πόντωι* makes a phrase like Hymn. Hom. 16. 2f., *τὸν ἐγείνατο δῖα Κορωνίς* | *Δωτίωι ἐν πεδίωι*, cf. 15. 2, Hes. *Th.* 240f. *Νηρῆος δ' ἐγένοντο μεγήρητα τέκνα θεάων* | *πόντωι ἐν ἀτρυγέτωι*, and many other places where the record of a birth is accompanied by specification of the place.

In 15 *χορεύοντες* is generally changed to *ὀχέοντες* after Brunck. Oppian, *Hal.* 5. 449, speaks of Arion as *δελφῖνος ὀχησάμενος περὶ νώτωι*; the active, however, is unusual. Page prefers *φορεῦντες*, or *φορεύοντες* (Hesych.). I delete as a misplaced gloss; both sense and metre are complete without it.

18–19 *φῶτες δόλιοι ὥς μ' ἀφ' ἁλιπλόου γλαφυρᾶς νεὼς εἰς οἶδμ' ἁλιπόρφυρον λίμνας ῥίψαν* codd.

Page eliminates the hiatus by writing *μ' ὡς*. Stylistically I see no advantage in this, and the safer procedure is to take the hiatus as evidence for the metrical structure. The colarion – – ∪ ∪ – has occurred three times before. *ὥς μ' ἀφ' ἁλιπλόου γλαφυρᾶς* is a clear choriambic dimeter. The trifling corrections *νεὸς (noluit* Brunck) and *ἐς* yield a glyconic to follow it. (Reiske's *ἁλιπορφύρου* is distinctly preferable to the accusative.) It is then unnecessary to write *ἔριψαν* with Hermann and everyone, for *λίμνας ῥῖψαν* (so to be accented) makes the first half of another glyconic or choriambic dimeter.

Here is my version of the whole piece:

ὔψιστε θεῶν	– – ∪ ∪ – |
πόντιε χρυσοτρίαινε Πόσειδον	4 da$_{\wedge}$ ‖
γαιάοχ' ἔ<χων πολυ>κύμον' ἅλμαν·	– D ∪ – – |
<λιπαρο>βράγχιοι δὲ περὶ σὲ πλωτοί	$^{\cup\cup}$$_{\wedge}$ia ia$^{\cup\cup}$ ia$_{\wedge}$ ‖
θῆρες χορεύουσι(ν) κύκλωι	ia cho (or 2 ia) |
κούφοισι ποδῶν ῥίμμασιν	– – ∪ ∪ – |$_{\wedge}$ia ‖
ἐλάφ'ρ' ἀναπαλλόμενοι φρῑξαύχενες ὠκύδρομοι	∪ D | – D |
σιμοὶ σκύλακες φιλόμουσοι, {δελφῖνες}	– D – ‖
ἔναλα θρέμματα κουρᾶν	pher |

Νηρεΐδων θεᾶν,	dodr ǀ
οὓς ἐγείνατ' Ἀμφιτρίτα Σικελῶι ἐνὶ πόντωι·	E D – ‖
οἵ μ' εἰς Πέλοπος γᾶν ἐπὶ Ταιναρίαν	– – ∪ ∪ – ǀ D ǀ
ἀκτὰν ἐπορεύσατε πλαζόμενον	– D^2 ǀ
κυρτοῖσι νώτοις {χορεύοντες}	– e – ǀ
ἄλοκα Νηρεΐας πλακὸς	glyc ǀ
τέμνοντες, ἀστιβῆ πόρον,	2 ia ǀ
φῶτες δόλιοι	– – ∪ ∪ – ‖
ὥς μ' ἀφ' ἁλιπλόου γλαφυρᾶς	cho dim ǀ
νεὸς ἐς οἶδμ' ἁλιπορφύρου	glyc ǀ
λίμνας ῥῖψαν – ∪ ∪ –	cho dim.

28

Corinna

THE BOEOTIAN ARCHETYPE

In the controversy over the date of Corinna, the following points may be taken as agreed:

1. An edition was made in Boeotia about the end of the third or beginning of the second century BCE.
2. The texts of Corinna current in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods were all descended from that Boeotian edition.
3. Before its dissemination Corinna was unknown in Greece at large. If she wrote at an earlier period, she must have been remembered only locally.[1]

Since Lobel first suggested that the Boeotian archetype might be identical with Corinna's autograph,[2] it has been assumed that there are two clear alternatives. Either Corinna lived in the fifth century, as formerly supposed, and was metagrammatized some 250 years later, or there was no metagrammatism and she lived about 200 BCE. A reason for making this assumption, and for not considering the intermediate period, is offered by Page, 75:

The difference between Boeotian spelling of the fifth century and that of the fourth is very great: but the difference in this respect between the

CQ 20 (1970), 277–87. The footnotes were there numbered anew on each page.

[1] Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1884), 321 f.; *Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker* (Berlin 1901), 21–4; D. L. Page, *Corinna* (London 1953), 65–84.

[2] *Hermes* 65 (1930), 356–65. Only P. Guillon has embraced the late dating with decision, *BCH* 82 (1958), 47–60, and *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Aix* 33 (1959), 155–68. It has been opposed by C. M. Bowra, *CR* 14 (1931), 4; K. Latte, *Eranos* 53 (1955), 57–67 = *Kl. Schr.* (Munich 1968), 499–507; A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griech. Literatur*, 2nd ed. (Bern 1963), 205 = *A History of Greek Literature* (London 1966), 180.

mid-fourth century and the late third or early second is comparatively slight. It is therefore tenable that whereas there would be a good reason for the re-spelling of fifth-century Boeotian into the later convention of any period, there would be no obvious or adequate reason for re-spelling Boeotian of the fourth century into the orthography of the third, or that of the third into that of the second. Even those features of fourth-century spelling which have ceased to preponderate are by no means unknown or even uncommon at the end of the third century. Certainly they are not enough to render texts of the fourth century at all difficult for readers of the third century to comprehend.

To get a clearer picture of the character of the archetype, we should note that it had a scholarly format, with titles,[3] perhaps even accents[4] and $|^{278}$ hypotheses.[5] We would hardly expect colometry so early, and its absence in the archetype may account for the relatively large number of papyrus fragments in which colometry is defective or undetectable. We cannot tell if there was book division.

[3] γ[? 654 ii 12 (references are to *PMG*);]εἰ Ἄρεις (?) 655 fr. 1 top; Ὀρέστας 690;]ια 692 fr. 2; Θιομαχία, Δευξίπ[πα 692 fr. 36; Ἐρού[θρος? 694 fr. 13. These are only the titles attested in dialect form. Dialect titles for dialect poems are not the norm; we do not find them in Stesichorus (e.g. Γηρυονηΐς, despite Γαρυόνας frequently in the text) or the bucolic poets (Theoc. 28 ἀλακάτα codd. saec. xv, but]ηλα[P. Oxy.) or Erinna. I can only cite the plays of Epicharmus and the mimes of Sophron—both, like Corinna, comparatively recherché authors (cf. Wilamowitz, *Textgesch. d. gr. Lyr.*, 24–9).

[4] An Alexandrian grammarian might be expected to treat Boeotian as Aeolic; cf. Wilamowitz in *BKT* v (2). 42. What we find in the papyri is more like what we might ourselves expect for Boeotian: Doric accents (but not as much as in the papyri of Alcman, Stesichorus, and Ibycus), side by side with an occasional Aeolic barytonesis (692 fr. 8. 4 σόφων, unless ἀσόφων; possibly 654 i 29 κάθεκτος, but cf. H. W. Chandler, *Greek Accentuation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1881), 150). There is a peculiarity about enclitic accentuation (654 i 16, iii 50). This all shows special knowledge: may it not go back to the archetype? In general, accents only began to be written in poetic texts in the second century BCE, but in these dialect poets the peculiar accents were written for a different purpose, for flavour rather than clarity.

[5] 655 fr. 4 is taken by Lobel and Page as Boeotian prose, but I do not see why it cannot be verse, whether or not the colometry is in order; it has accents in it. 655 fr. 1 is preceded by remains of prose which may be more than a title; there are grounds for thinking that this was the first poem of the first book (below, p. 365), and a hypothesis would not be the only possibility. If Apollonius Dyscolus and his son Herodian really used Boeotian datives in quoting titles (658 Βοιωτοῖ, 660 Εὐωνυμίης; 'nicht glaublich', Maas, *RE* xi. 1396. 66), it may have been a family pedantry, or modelled on some specimen of Boeotian philology preserved in conjunction with the text of the poems. In 659 Apollonius uses Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις as the dative of Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας. [Cf. Kassel–Austin, *PCG* ii. 64.]

Corinna is the most Boeotian of poets, even when allowance is made for metagrammatism.[6] If even she had to be rewritten for a Boeotian readership, one wonders what literature they could cope with at all. Homer, Hesiod, Pindar? Or was everything translated—

> μεῖνιν ἄϊδε θιὰ Πειλειϊάδεω Ἀχιλεῖος
> ὠλομένειν, εἰ μουρὶ Ἀχηῦς ἄλγι' ἔθεικεν—?

Certainly not. The point of the new Boeotian spelling was that it assumed the Attic values for the written vowels. Instead of writing αι and pronouncing it like Attic η, you wrote η. But if someone else pronounced it αι, you would write αι in recording him. Boeotians would read Homer in Ionic just as Athenians did. If Corinna was rewritten on the Boeotian system, it was because she was a Boeotian apparently writing in her own dialect, and not because she was obscure. If παρθένοι κόραι was transcribed as παρθένυ κόρη, it was because Corinna was assumed to have pronounced it *parthenü korê*; using the reformed spelling to represent it was no different from using it for inscriptions. Parallels of a more sporadic and less drastic kind can be adduced from the tradition of Alcman, where late Laconian spellings such as σ for θ and ἀνηρομέναι for ἀϝ- won acceptance at Alexandria and appear in our papyri.[7]

'BOEOTICA INCERTI AUCTORIS'

The possibility that Corinna belongs somewhere between 450 and 225 BCE, therefore, deserves as much attention as the polar alternatives that have so far been canvassed, even if it does make a narrow dating harder. I shall argue for a date towards the end of this intermediate period, on various grounds. As some of them are linguistic, I must first say how much Corinna I think we have. There are about fifty small fragments of Boeotian verse whose ascription to her is

[6] Page, 65, exaggerates the non-vernacular element in her dialect (cf. Latte, 57–61=499–502), and unfairly quotes a sentence out of context to suggest that Wilamowitz was blind to it.

[7] Aristophanes and Thucydides used σ for the Laconian θ at an earlier date, but I do not think it likely that it intruded into texts of Alcman in their time. Risch has shown how the Alexandrian text of Alcman was also influenced by acquaintance with the 'Doric' of Cyrene (*Mus. Helv.* 11 (1954), 30–7).

doubted or denied by Lobel but seems highly probable to me.[8] His arguments are as follows:

|[279] 1. 'To judge by 2370, *BKT* v (ii) xiv, and the quotations, Corinna employs only two kinds of verse, glyconics and ionics (three, if we include the couple of hexameters quoted from her)', whereas these measures cannot be discerned in the disputed fragments. The situation is that the Berlin papyrus shows us two poems, one in ionics and one in glyconics;[9] P. Oxy. 2370 shows us another in glyconics, but not used on the same principle; brief quotations from the *Euonymiai* and *Kataplous* are compatible with glyconics, and one from the *Seven against Thebes* is compatible with ionics. Five further quotations are probably glyconics (664, 666, 675, 676b, 684), but we do not know that they came from different poems; 657 and 674 are hexameters; other quotations are metrically as obscure as the papyri in question (658 (*Boiotos*), 669, 678, 689). There is not enough evidence to justify the claim that in five books of poems Corinna used only two kinds of verse. We must bear in mind that the books may have been arranged by metre and that a disproportionate number of the quotations may come from the first two.

2. 'Other slighter differences' in the group of dubious fragments are:

   (a) the occurrence of genitives in *-υο* (*-οιο*). There is only one clear example; another (*ἀμβρότυ[ο* 690. 10) is conjectural and unnecessary. Its absence from our other fragments may be fortuitous.

   (b) Hiatus within the line. Five apparent examples: one (690. 10) shows strong punctuation, and looks like a verse-end; in two others (691. 10, 692 fr. 1. 6) false colometry may again be involved; in a fourth (690. 6) the unelided vowel is unelidable, *π<ο>υρὶ ἔκηον*, and one might think of corrections such as *ποῦρ ἔκηον*, *πουρὶ κῆον*, *πουρί Ϝἑ κῆον*; in the fifth (692 fr. 3/4. 9) *ἐνθι* may have been written exceptionally with *scriptio plena* to avoid the

[8] PSI 1174, P. Oxy. 2371–4; Lobel in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xxiii. 60. Page in *PMG* calls them *Boeotica incerti auctoris.*

[9] Like Lobel and Hephaestion, I use 'glyconic' here to include the 'choriambic dimeter' or 'wilamowitzianus'.

suggestion of ἔνθα. We cannot object to hiatus at verse-end so long as we cannot identify the metre.

(c) A false digamma, 694 fr. 2. 4: Lobel himself finds an alternative interpretation on p. 86.

3. Three of the papyri in question (PSI 1174, P. Oxy. 2372 and 2374) are less consistent than the Berlin papyrus in writing *ου* for *υ* (but two of them show corrections to *ου*). As Lobel admits, this is an external feature of the manuscripts, and it cannot seriously be held to have any bearing on authorship.

My argument is this:

If the fragments are not Corinna, what are they? It is true that Plutarch apparently knew a poem of the blameworthy Murtis (*PMG* 716). But he was a Boeotian, with an interest in local antiquities and an exceptionally good library. The Alexandrians Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian, working at the same period, can only quote Corinna for Boeotian forms. That the burghers of Hermopolis and Oxyrhynchus in the second and third centuries had any Boeotian poetry to read other than Corinna seems to me highly unlikely.[10]

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

In the Roman period Corinna was supposed to be an early author, contemporary with Pindar.[11] We can see how such an opinion could have arisen l^{280} from her reference to Murtis' vying with Pindar, especially if she elsewhere spoke of Murtis as a contemporary—provided that no one knew any better. I cannot think that this is a difficult proviso, but it is perhaps more easily satisfied if she lived somewhat before the archetype was made than if she made it herself.[12]

[10] The statement in P. Oxy. 2438 ii that Pindar's father was called Scopelinus *κατὰ Κόρινναν καὶ ἑτέρας ποιητρίας* is not of a form to inspire confidence. In any case it is not said that this strangely unanimous host of poetesses wrote in Boeotian.

[11] See Page, 71–3; Prop. 2. 3. 21 *antiqua Corinna*, vague as it is, may suggest the same.

[12] Latte, 66=506, argues 'Kroisos und Chrysipp zusammenzubringen, versucht keine antike Anekdote'. No indeed, but the case is scarcely parallel. [The *Suda*, *η* 521, makes Erinna a contemporary (and companion) of Sappho.]

Page rightly places no reliance on Tatian's reference to a statue by Silanion.[13] There is another piece of archaeological evidence that he might have mentioned. An extant statuette of the Roman period, clearly labelled as Corinna, is held on stylistic grounds to be modelled on a fourth-century original.[14] Richter describes it as 'a slight work, and very generalized', and is accordingly disinclined to connect it with Silanion. Nevertheless, it would prove that Corinna was famous in the fourth century, if we knew that the original as well as the copy was intended as Corinna. But if she did not exist in the fourth century, and a demand for busts of her only arose in a period of imitation, what was to stop a Sappho being used as a model?

GENRE

Corinna refers to herself as singing fair *Ϝεροῖα* for girls of Tanagra who are wearing white dresses: 655 fr. 1. 2–3 *καλὰ Ϝεροῖ' ἀϊσομέναν | Ταναγρίδεσσι λευκοπέπλυς*, cf. 11 *παρθ[έ]νυσι κατά[ρχομη* (?). As *Ϝεροῖα* was adopted as the collective title of her poems, or at any rate of a sizeable section of them,[15] we can take it that other poems appeared to be of the same nature. In 690. 11–12, in the exordium of the *Orestas*, we read *γέγα[θεν δὲ . . .]δ̣υν χορὸς ἀν' ἑπτάπυλον* [: a chorus at Thebes.[16] In the exordium of a poem whose title ended *]ια* (692 fr. 2) we see a mention of *παρθένυ κόρη*: they might be the Muses, but three lines later we see that certain people who can hardly be the Muses are going to sing beautifully, *λι]γοὺ δὲ μέλψον[θ̣]* (*sc.* *-ονθι* or *-ονθη*). *κοῦφος* in line 3 suggests the dance.[17] Terpsichore, the Muse named in 655 fr. 1. 1, is not chosen at random.

Corinna, then, writes for a Tanagraean girls' chorus. A chorus presupposes a festival. Not necessarily at Tanagra; the *Orestas* was

[13] *Ad Graecos* 33, p. 34. 16 Schwartz; Page, 73 n. 6.

[14] S. Reinach, *Rev. arch.* 32 (1898), 161 ff. and pl. v, cf. 36 (1900), 169 ff.; G. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (London 1965), i. 144.

[15] 656 *Κόριννα Ϝεροίων α'*, cf. 657 *Κόριννα ἐν τῶι πέμπτωι*.

[16] Cf. Pind. fr. 94b. 60; Page, 28. The time is spring. We know of a springtime festival at Thebes at which a girls' choir sang in praise of Apollo, the Daphnaphoria. We cannot tell what *δαφν[* is doing in 655 fr. 2. 3; but the *Orestas* might well have ended with glorification of Apollo.

[17] Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 14. 17 (quoted by Lobel), Ar. *Thesm.* 954, *PMG* 936. 7.

written for performance at Thebes, and the Tanagraean girls may have competed in more than one place. When Corinna says *μέγα δ' ἐμῆς γέγαθε πόλις | λιγουροκωτίλυς ἐνοπῆς* (655 fr. 1. 4–5), she may be referring to Tanagra's pride in its strength against rivals.

METRES

First the structure of the single verse. Of the ionic I have nothing to say. In the glyconics the predominant type is o o $-\times-\cup\cup-$. This already appears as an occasional variant in Sappho and Anacreon;[18] in Corinna the relative frequencies are reversed. The resolved base $\cup\cup\cup-$ $\begin{cases}\times-\cup\cup-\\ \cup\cup-\cup-\end{cases}$, which $|^{281}$ occurs in five successive lines at the beginning of 655 fr. 1 and sporadically elsewhere, is foreign to archaic poetry but common throughout the fifth century, and it can still be instanced in the late fourth (Aristonous, see below). Its occurrence in each of the first five lines of a poem prompts comparison with the openings of certain late Euripidean choruses.[19] A rarer resolution appears in line 22, . . .]. *τέκετο τυ*[; cf. Eur. *IA* 580, 781, *et al.*

That poem has its glyconics *κατὰ στίχον*, with no sign of a strophe (pauses at verses 3, 5, 8, 11, 13). In 654 we have an ionic and a glyconic poem composed in stanzas of six and five verses respectively, marked by catalexis and sense-pause. The general principle can be illustrated from archaic lyric and from drama.[20] The pieces most reminiscent of Corinna, however, come from a later period. Maas drew attention to Aristonous' Paean of 334 BCE:[21]

Πυθίαν ἱερόκτιτον
ναίων Δελφίδ' ἀμφὶ πέτραν
ἀεὶ θεσπιόμαντιν ἕδ-
ραν, ἰὴ ἰὲ Παιάν.

[18] Sappho 95. 9, 96. 7; Anacr. 349. 1, 357. 5.

[19] *Phoen.* 202, *Or.* 807 (Euripides' most popular play), *IA* 164, 543. However, I am not impressed by the verbal parallels with *Bacch.* 74 ff. (Page, 20 n. 5).

[20] Alcm. 60?; Anacr. 347=417, 358–62; Aesch. *Pers.* 65 ff., *Supp.* 1018 ff.; Ar. *Eq.* 973 ff., 1111 ff., *Eccl.* 289 ff.; Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921), 446.

[21] *Coll. Alex.* 162. On the dating see G. Daux, *BCH* 66–7 (1942/3), 137–40; P. de La Coste-Messelière, *BCH* 73 (1949), 235–8.

Twelve stanzas like this, with glyconics of both forms alternating freely; there are twenty with medial and sixteen with final choriamb. Once we find ∪∪ ∪ – ... (37); once × – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – (29), as in Corinna 654 ii 32, 664b. 2, Eur. *Phoen.* 236, etc.

The glyconic ephymnion of Limenius' Paean of 127 BCE (*Coll. Alex.* 149, *DAGM* 74–85) is not in stanzas, but it resembles Corinna in that the final choriamb predominates over the medial (seven to three in the verses complete enough to classify).

We may also compare the Epidaurian hymn to the Mother of the Gods[22] with its narrative in telesilleans, beginning with an appeal to the Muses, ending with a salutation to the Mother. The stonecutter of the third or fourth century CE had a defective hand-copy to follow, but we can see that the poem was composed in four-line stanzas like the last:[23]

πόντω τε τρίτον μέρος,
χοὕτως ἀπελεύσομαι."
χαῖρ' ὦ μεγάλα ἄνασ-
σα, Μᾶτερ Ὀλύμπω.

Attempts at dating range from the fifth century BCE (Maas) to the second CE (Latte, *GGA* 196 (1934), 409 ff. = *Kl. Schr.* 754 ff.). Maas's date is certainly too early, and Latte's too late. But his arguments bring it down to Hellenistic times: I have argued for a third-century date on pp. 212 ff. above [=below, Chapter 30].

It is hardly profitable to discuss other metres that Corinna may have used. 693 fr. 1. 1–16 seems to have had five-line strophes composed of three long lines and two short, but the metre is obscure.[24] I do not enter into the problem of ^{l282} 654 i 1–6.[25] The tendency to treat syllables as short before mute and liquid, adduced by Lobel as an argument against an early date, perhaps has more to do with dialect than with epoch.[26]

[22] *PMG* 935, but better in P. Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen* (Halle (Saale) 1933), 134. [See below, Chapter 30.]

[23] Maas, 135: 'aus 6 Vierzeilern, die teils durch Sinnespause, teils durch Katalexe (22), teils durch beides abgegrenzt werden'.

[24] 2, 3, 7 look dactylic; 13 ϵ]ὐροὺ πορφο[υρ-, 14]δ' ἐπ' Εὐρίπυο look anything but.

[25] See Page, 87 f.; A. E. Harvey, *CQ* 5 (1955), 176–9; Page again, *CQ* 7 (1957), 109–12.

[26] Cf. Bowra, *CR* 45 (1931), 4 f.

CONTENTS

Corinna's songs were narrative, dealing with local Boeotian legends.[27] This was sufficiently clear from the fragments before her own description appeared, 655 fr. 1. 9 ff.,

λόγια δ' †ἐπ πατέρω[ν
κοσμείσασα †Fιδιο[
παρθ[έ]νυσι κατα[
πο]λλὰ μὲν Καφ[ισὸν
]αγον κοσμ[ ]ς,
πολλὰ δ' Ὠρί[ωνα] μέγαν
κὴ πεντείκοντ' οὐψιβίας
πῆδα[ς ὣς νού]μφησι μιγ[ί]ς[28]
. . .

The criticism of Murtis may have come from the same manifesto:

μέμφομη δὲ κὴ λιγουρὰν
Μουρτίδ' ἰὼν γ', ὅτι Πινδάροι
βανὰ φοῦσ' ἔβα πὸτ ἔριν[29]
. . . . .
ἰώνει δ' εἰρώων ἀρετὰς
χειρωάδων – ∪ ∪ –

The song would begin with a conjuration of the Muse:

655 fr. 1. 1 ἐπί με Τερψιχόρα [καλῆ vel sim.[30]
692 fr. 36 (title)]. [
(incipit) λιγουφ[ων- (or φ[θογγ-)

[27] 'Lyric nomes' (*Suda*) means no more than lyric narrative poems.

[28] 9 επ corrected from εν pap.: ἐς Lobel, cl. Alc. fr. 339: ἀπ Lloyd-Jones, *CR* 8 (1958), 20, cf. Alc. fr. 371. In 10 Lloyd-Jones suggests κοσμείσασ' ἰδίο[ι λόγοι, but initial digamma is nowhere demonstrably neglected, and it seems rash to assume neglect when it is actually written. What scribe would know that ἴδιος should have a digamma? I cannot suggest an alternative supplement, except ἀFυδιό[ω, with internal digamma written as in ἀFύδιμος 694 fr. 5(*a*) 8; but I know no lyric example of epic diectasis except Stesichorus P. Oxy. 2735 fr. 16. 3 (=*PMGF* Ibycus S181) εὐχετάασθα[ι. (Alexandrian poets use it under certain conditions: K. Meister, *Die homerische Kunstsprache* (Leipzig 1921), 67 ff.; Hermesianax 3. 13 Lightfoot has uncontracted ἀοιδιάων; Cercidas 4. 49 Powell=1. 71 Lomiento has uncontracted φυσιάει in his racy brand of lyric.) The dot written over and to the left of the first iota looks like a trema abandoned half way through; perhaps Υ had been misread as ϊ.

[29] I transpose Πινδάροι from after ἔβα, since βανὰ φοῦσ' must scan ∪ – –.

[30] Cf. Pind. fr. 94c ὁ Μοισαγέτας με καλεῖ χορεῦσαι.

(title) *Θιομαχία*
(incipit) *Μῶσά μ[υ* (e.g.)
693 fr. 1. 17ff.]*πων Ὄλουμπ[*
]. *ϵ*
]*ϵτϵ δ̣ϵ̣ῦρ' ὁμϵι̣[ρίωση* (?)
654 ii 13 *Μω[σ*

[283] Alternatively, with a description of the circumstances of performance; so in the *Orestas* fragment, which I tentatively reconstruct as glyconics:

Ἄ]ας μὲν ὠκιανῶ λιπῶ-
σα π̣[αγὰς] ἱαρὸν φάος
σελάνας <σ>πάσα[τ' ὠραν]ῶ·
Ὥρη δ' ἐς Διὸς ἄμβροτυ
νί̣ονθ]η Ϝέ̣αρος ἐν ἄνθϵσι<ν>,
γέγα[θϵν δὲ πόνυς πο]δ̣ῦν
χορὸς ἀν ἑπτάπυλον [πόλιν.

So too in 692 fr. 2 (cf. above), and perhaps in 654 ii 18–19] *ἀέλιος*, *θ]ουσίας*.

The narrative was simple and ballad-like,[31] and might continue to the end of the song with no epilogue (690. 1–7).

We have some notion of the kind of choral song performed at religious festivals in the time of Pindar, even in Boeotia, even by girls' choirs at Thebes: we have it from Pindaric fragments. In metre, style, and contents they are utterly unlike Corinna, and it is not easy to believe that she was in the same business. It will not do to say that Pindar was an eagle and that Corinna, who knew her limitations, deliberately chose simpler and humbler ways. We can see from Bacchylides what the jackdaws were like: simpler, certainly, but having much more in common with Pindar than with Corinna.

These were professionals with patrons in various parts of the Greek world. It might be wrong to emphasize the contrast between the Panhellenic nature of their myths and the parochial nature of Corinna's; she can be put beside Alcman. It may be significant, though, that when she does refer to a non-Boeotian story, the birth of Zeus (Cithaeron's song, 654 i 12–18), it appears in a form that is standard for the Alexandrian poets but unattested earlier

[31] C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London 1952), 549.

than Euripides' *Bacchae*: the story that Zeus was hidden by the Kouretes.[32]

The poem beginning ἐπί με Τερψιχόρα (655) may provide another indication of relatively late date. Certain things suggest that it stood at the beginning of the collection:[33]

1. The collection was known as Ϝεροῖα, a name which must have been taken from the text. The opening was particularly likely to provide a title,[34] and there stands Ϝεροῖα in the second line of this poem.
2. Hephaestion, seeking examples of glyconics with final choriamb, quotes verses 2–5 of this poem. It is well known that his habit was to take the first example he came to, and we can infer that this was at least the first glyconic poem in the collection.
3. It seems to be preceded in the papyrus by some prose.

Now when we read it, it is hard to avoid the impression that it is designed to be the introduction to a book.[35] Corinna says she is going to sing Ϝεροῖα. We do not |[284] know what the word means, or whether the plural implies more than one poem, but it may. She says she tells tales of old, of Cephisus, of Orion and his sons, and more.[36]

The practice of composing an introductory poem for a collection of one's poems is not attested before the first half of the third century. The clearest case seems to be Posidippus (H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 83 (1963), 96 = *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature* (etc.) (Oxford 1990), 190); and Theocritus' epigram 27 (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 434, ἄλλος ὁ Χῖος) looks authentic to me. No one can say it is impossible in 350; but it would be gravely improbable in 450. It will not be seriously proposed that the poem is an addition by a later editor. It is her own manifesto, not designed to be sung and accordingly not

[32] Eur. *Bacch.* 120 ff.; Palaikastro hymn 17 ff. (*Coll. Alex.* 160; *JHS* 85 (1965), 149); Call. *Hymn.* 1. 52; Arat. 35; Ap. Rhod. 2. 1234. Wrongly Wilamowitz (*BKT*), 47, 'der hesiodischen Theogonie entsprechend'.

[33] Cf. Maas, *RE* xi. 1394. 21 ff.

[34] The crass example of [Xen.] Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία comes to mind. [See further E. Nachmanson, *Der griechische Buchtitel* (Darmstadt 1969), 49–52.]

[35] Lobel, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xxiii. 61. Maas, loc. cit., had divined that Hephaestion's quotation came from a 'Prooimion, in dem K. den altertümlichen und epichorischen Charakter ihrer Poesie kennzeichnete'; τὰ δὴ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται.

[36] If Libya in 17 is the nymph from whom Cadmus was descended, we might supply τέκετο, κη̃] Λιβούαν κ[αλάν. In 19 the mysterious Ϝιρίῳ might be interpreted as εἰρίου, a title of Nereus that I tentatively conjectured on other grounds at Hes. *Th.* 234.

composed in stanzas. The blaming of Murtis *ὅτι Πινδάροι βανὰ φοῦσ' ἔβα πὸτ ἔριν* again makes us think of the third rather than the fifth century. Guillon has made the obvious comparison with Theoc. 7. 47,

Μοισᾶν ὄρνιχες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χῖον ἀοιδόν
ἀντία κοκκύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι.

LANGUAGE

654 i 13, *ζάθεος* applied to persons is late, first in Philodamus Scarpheus 139 (*Coll. Alex.* 169; 325 BCE?). Like Page, 18, and Bolling, *AJP* 77 (1956), 283, I would have expected *δαθίο*[*ι . . .*] *ἄντροι*, but the accent is against it.[51]

14 *λαθράδαν* and iii 20 *κρουφάδαν* are twin extensions from *λάθρᾱ*(*ι*) and *κρύφα*. Latte thinks them early; even if they are, it would not follow that anyone who used them was early. Homer has *κρυφηδόν*.

15 *τανίκα* for *ἀνίκα* by analogy with relative *τάν*, *τόν*, etc. Only here?

18 *τάδ' ἔμελψεν*, cf. R. Führer, *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Munich 1967), 40 f.: 'Ganz isoliert ist das redeabschließende *τάδε* bei Corinna . . . Vergleichbar ist nur Call. fr. 228, 52 *τάδ' ἔφα θεός* und fr. 194, 44 *ἦ μὲν τᾰ́δ', οὐκέτ' ἄλλα* sowie Batr. 56 *πρὸς τάδε μειδήσας Φυσίγναθος ἀντίον ηὔδα*.'[37]

21 *χρουσοφαῖς* as it stands is a Boeotianized Atticism, indicative of lateness. See Page, 55 for alternative readings.

22 *ὧρθεν* is claimed by Latte as a mark of earliness, but Corinna may have got it from a predecessor. Cf. Page, 56.

29 *λο*]*ύπησι κά*[*θ*]*εκτος*. Fifth-century verse uses *κάτοχος*, e.g. Soph. *Tr.* 978. *κάθεκτος* first appears in Demosthenes and is common in late prose; in verse, Orph. *Hymn.* 10. 6 *δινοκάθεκτε*, i.e. *δίνηι κάθεκτε* (*CQ* 18 (1968), 290; second to third century CE).

[37] *τοιάδε* and *ὧδε* are also Hellenistic in this function, as Führer adds in a footnote, except for Tyrt. 4. 10. On the date of the *Batrachomyomachia* cf., if in doubt, *HSCP* 73 (1968), 123 n. 35; [and now my *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, Mass.–London 2003), 229].

34 μου[ρι]άδεσσι as an adjective, if rightly read, is paralleled only in *Rhesus* 913 (fourth century).

iii 15 δουῖν, *sc.* δυεῖν, an Attic innovation of the late fourth century (caused by dissimilation as the pronunciation of οι approached closer to that of υ, cf. οἴκει for οἴκοι). Bechtel connected δυεῖν with the nominative δύε found in a few dialects; but it does not occur in those dialects. Boeotian had δυοῖν (*IG* 7. 1739. 7, *c.*300 BCE). Wilamowitz conjectured δουῦν, perhaps rightly.

I[285] 16 κρατούνι. Latte finds no parallels later than Tragedy. But cf. *Anacreont.* 60. 26; Orph. *Hymn.* 3. 11, 58. 8, 64. 8, 87. 1; *GDK* 59. 1. 6 (Leiden magical papyrus, fourth century CE).

19 πιθέταν. Latte claims that 'diese Form allein verbietet die Spätdatierung Korinnas', namely because the verbal dual died in Boeotian in the fifth century (ἀνεθέταν on two third-century inscriptions being a stereotyped survival from older dedications). But if Callimachus is capable of forming καδδραθέτην (fr. 260. 63), ἀναδραμέτην (fr. 284), ὀδεύετον (fr. 648), why should Corinna be incapable of πιθέταν?

24 κἄσσονθη is not what we expect, whether Corinna is early or late; see Page, 58. *Scriptio plena* may have been used in Ptolemaic texts; κή may then have been vulgarized to καί, and the crasis incorrectly made.

25 ἀγείρω is wrong for the nominative plural, which should be ἀγείροι (< -ωι); and the heroes are not going to be unaging. ἀγείρω is genitive, agreeing with τρίποδος; compare Philodamus Scarpheus 119 ἀγήρων . . . ναὸν ἄνακτι Φοίβωι.

μ]α[ντοσ]ούνω as an adjective: Latte can find no parallel later than Tragedy, but it seems an unavoidable restoration in Limenius 32.

43 ἀτ[ρ]έκ[ιαν χρει]σμολόγον looks a late type of expression, but I cannot illustrate it.[52]

655 fr. 1. 5 λιγουροκωτίλυς, an overweight adjective that smacks of the dithyramb. It is admittedly not as extravagant as Pratinas' λαλυβαρύοψ,[38] not to mention the γοεροστονοθρηνολαλήμων of a curious later poem.[39] The second element, though formally the

[38] *PMG* 708. 12; to be dated to the late fifth century, see H. Lloyd-Jones, *Cuadernos de la Fundación Pastor* 13 (1966), 15–18 = *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (Oxford 1990), 228–30.

[39] *GDK* 6 fr. 1. 49.

simple adjective κωτίλος, is no doubt felt to have some verbal force, so that the compound represents λιγυρὰ κωτίλλων rather than a blatant portmanteau of λιγυρὸς καὶ κωτίλος. All the same, one would expect rather λιγυκωτίλος in a contemporary of Pindar. I should like to know where else, before Philox. Leuc. *PMG* 836. 41 χλιεροθαλπές, an adjective with the formative suffix -ρο- is compounded with a verbal second element.

For κωτίλος in a complimentary sense cf. the Epidaurian hymn to Pan, *PMG* 936. 4.[40] In Boeotia its associations may have been improved by the use of κωτιλάς as a nickname for the swallow.

674 Θέσπια καλλιγένεθλε φιλόξενε μουσοφίλητε looks late in style. There may be a reference to the 'Hesiodic Muses' honoured at Thespiae, we do not know how early (cf. *IG* 7. 1785, 4240 b, c, Paus. 9. 27. 5).[s3]

693 fr. 1. 14 Εὐρίπνο. It is not likely that -νο is the result of levelling in the later tradition, for our texts consistently preserve οι derived from ωι. The archetype will therefore have had -νο. But it is difficult to believe that Corinna wrote the word in this form. For the masculine genitive singular she had the choice of vernacular -ω and epic/lyric -οιο.[41] -νο just did not exist, unless we suppose that Boeotian rhapsodes were so inbred as to pronounce Homer in this way. The same may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, about γῆαν (654 iii 39, 655 fr. 1. 21). Dative plurals in -νσι are easier, as the product of

Poetic	-οις	-οισι
Vernacular	-υς	

|[286] But no similar parallelogram of forces leads to -νο or γῆα. The question 'what is to Boeotian -ω as epic -οιο to -ου?' is too difficult for a spontaneous answer.[42]

I infer that Corinna wrote -οιο and γαῖα. This need not mean that she lived before the sound-changes, but it will mean that she was not contemporary with the archetype. We might fairly de-Boeotize her spelling, if we knew how far to go.

[40] Not pre-Hellenistic; perhaps as late as the second century CE, as Latte argues, *GGA* 196 (1934), 405–9 = *Kl. Schr.* 750–4. [Cf. below, p. 383.]

[41] For -οιο in non-scholastic Hellenistic lyric cf. Athenaeus, *Paean* 10 and 29 (*DAGM* 64, 68), Cerc. 5. 32 Powell = 2. 30 Lomiento.

[42] There are linguists who might say that -νο could be re-formed on nom. pl. -υ on the model of -οι: -οιο. I would call that an abuse of the analogical principle.

CONCLUSIONS

While more gifted than most of the local poets whose festival compositions were honoured by inscription on stone in the period 350–100 BCE, Corinna's stereotyped metrical cola and unoriginality of phrase class her with them rather than with Pindar and Bacchylides. Details of linguistic usage such as δάθιον βρέφος, τάδ' ἔμελψεν, κάθεκτος, ἀγείρω τρίποδος, ἀτρέκια χρεισμολόγος, λιγουροκωτίλος, and, if genuine, χρυσοφαῖς and δουΐν, greatly strengthen the case for a later dating. The use of a conspicuously Boeotian dialect, against classical precedent, suits the self-conscious regionalism of the later period. Guillon (52) speaks of 'une volonté évidente, en contraste absolu avec l'œuvre de Pindare, de . . . "faire du dialecte", qui ne se manifeste nulle part plus nettement que dans les inscriptions béotiennes du IIIe s.'. The same writer connects the tale about oracles in the Asopides poem with the reorganization of oracles by the Boeotian Confederacy in the second half of the third century, a suggestion which I am not competent to evaluate.

Considerations of literary history lead us in the same direction. There is an intrinsic implausibility in the hypothesis that Corinna's poetry survived underground for something over two centuries, finally to emerge and become a bestseller. On ordinary form it ought either to have got into the Panhellenic book trade in the fifth century or vanished for good. When, furthermore, the collection appears all complete and shipshape with an introductory poem at the beginning—authentic, to all appearances—we may feel sure that we are not dealing with a writer of the fifth century, and highly doubtful whether we are dealing with one of the fourth.

It is hardly possible to be more precise. I have argued that Corinna is not quite as late as the archetype. That leaves the greater part of the third century open. Guillon's arguments would bring her down to the second half of it.

MARGINALIA

I finish untidily with some remarks on individual passages.

654 i 16 Ῥεία (Ῥέα before correction) should be Ῥία, if we are using the archetype's spelling. *Frustra* Diehl, 'Ῥεία voluit Cor., non Ῥία, Homeri et Hesiodi memor'.

34 Page omits a bracket before *νιν*. The whole word *εἴρισε* is preserved. But one might prefer *εἴριψε* or *εἴριξε*, if it were clearer what is happening.

ii 12, the heading, *Ϝ*[altered to *Γ*[, might be *Ϝ*[*εροίων β′* or the like. The new poem is in a different metre from the preceding one, and its contents suggest no name beginning with *γ* or *Ϝ*.

20, an irregular hiatus, unless *φιλαές* is one word, 'liking to blow', of a breeze (cf. *ἄειτι* fr. 4. 6), or 'liking the dawn' (*ἄας* and *ἀές* are said to be Boeotian for *ἠ*[287] 'tomorrow', and assumed to be related to *ἀώς*). Cf. the opening of the *Orestas* as presented above.

The drift of the narrative in the rest of column ii seems to be: Asopus goes out to his watery haunts (26 *Ἄσωπ*[– ∪ ∪] *ἐν νομόν*, with gloss *ἐς*); the gods come and remove his daughters (30 *ἐς μελ*]*άθρων*), causing him grief (32 *ἐν πε*[*ιμονάν*). The next two stanzas gave details of the distribution (38 *δ' ἔσχε* rather than Wilamowitz's *κλέψε*). Asopus is baffled (43 *τ*[*οῖ δ' οὔ τις*, cf. sch.; 45]*σαφές*), until (sch. 46 *μέχρι*)[43] [he meets the prophet of Apollo].

iii 25 f., e.g.

ἀγείρω τ' ἐς [*μ*]*α*[*ντοσ*]*ούνω*
τρίποδος ὥτ[*ε κλιεινύ*],

'and famous, as (far as you can take it) from the unaging oracle'. The oracle is dragged in by way of transition to the following account of its history:

τόδε γέρας κ[*εκράτειχ' ἰὼ*]*ν κτλ.*

(*κ*[*ατέσχον* Wilamowitz, but that is too short).

45 e.g. *κὴ λού*[*πας ἄππαυε*] *φρένας*, cf. iv 8 *παύομ*[*η*, i 29 *λο*]*ύπησι*.

iv 16 ⟨*Ϝ*⟩*εδν*[. The digamma might be more easily omitted at the beginning of the line than elsewhere, but there may be an instance of omission even within the line at 655 fr. 2,]*η* ⟨*Ϝ*⟩*ερουσιμ*[, if it was not]*ηε ῥουσι-*. (The hyphen indicates a compound word; *-μ*[*βροτ-*?)

[43] There is punctuation at the end of 45, so that if I am right about the purport of the 'until', one would expect it to be the first word of 46. The beginning of 46 is read as *θ*[. There is a dialect word meaning 'until' which begins with a theta and would justify a gloss: it is *θᾶς*, found in Alc. fr. 70. 8 and 206. 6. The similar *ἆς* is common to Sappho, Alcaeus, and Boeotian.

23 Wilamowitz's correction *Fᾶδομη* deserves remembrance.

691. 10 *Εὐω[νουμ-?*

693 fr. 2. 1 *διό]γνειτος* is a possibility, besides Lobel's *κατί]γνειτος*.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. On examining the papyrus in Berlin in 1996 I found that the supposed accent over *δα* appeared in fact to be a suprascript *ζα*; see *ZPE* 113 (1996), 22. So we can after all read *δαθίο[ι*, and the argument from the application of the adjective to *βρέφος* can no longer be used.
2. One might compare Eur. *Phoen.* 1548 f. *παραβάκτροις ... θεραπεύμασιν*, and some of the other passages quoted in W. Breitenbach, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der euripideischen Lyrik* (Stuttgart 1934), 199–201. See also J. D. Denniston, *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford 1952), 35 f. (adjectival qualification of abstracts).
3. The Thespian Mouseia are attested from the latter part of the third century BCE, but they may be older. See Fiehn, *RE* VIA. 45–7; A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* (London 1981–94), ii. 147–79.

29

Who's Afraid of Dating Corinna?

In *CQ* 20 (1970), 277–87 [=above, Chapter 28], I argued for dating Corinna to the third century BCE. In my *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982), 141, I continued to assume this date, observing that not everyone accepted it but that I knew of no attempt to answer my arguments. I must confess to having overlooked at least one such attempt, by A. Allen in *CJ* 68 (1972/3), 26–8; and now Malcolm Davies has mounted another in *SIFC* 81 (1988), 186–94, largely repeating Allen's points but with some new touches. Allen upholds the traditional fifth-century date. Davies has yet to come to a decision, but meanwhile he is eager to discredit what he regards as an unsatisfactory case for a Hellenistic dating.

I propose to rebut their objections, not because I fear they might carry the day with a sober and attentive judge, but because, while they are left unrebutted, it is too easy for anyone who is attached to the idea of a fifth-century Corinna, but does not feel up to fighting for it, to dispense himself by means of a note in the form 'West's arguments . . . have been countered by . . .'.

The 'most substantial, ingenious, and original' of my arguments, in Davies' opinion, is drawn from the arrangement of Corinna's works in the ancient edition. I argued, after Maas and Lobel, that the poem beginning ἐπί με Τερψιχόρα (*PMG* 655) occupied the initial place and was designed for that position, as an introduction to the collection. The practice of composing an introductory poem for a collection and so giving it literary unity is not attested before 300 BCE. Allen accepts that Corinna composed the poem as an introduction, but he thinks this would have been possible in the fifth century. He refers to the so-called Seal of Theognis. This, however,

'Dating Corinna', *CQ* 40 (1990), 553–7.

has no bearing: there is no good reason to think that the poem in question (Thgn. 19–26) was intended by Theognis to stand at the beginning of his book or that it did so in pre-Hellenistic times; on the contrary, we know that his book, as current in Xenophon's day, began with the elegy 183–92.[1] Davies takes a more sophisticated line. He too accepts that *PMG* 655 stood at the beginning of Corinna's poems, but he suggests that it may have owed this position to a later editor, and that its programmatic character is only apparent. He rightly notes that ἀϊσομ[έναν in line 2 need not refer to anything beyond the poem itself, being 'idiomatic for a lyric poet's declaration of intent'. However, the plural object, καλὰ Ϝεροῖα, *may* imply more than one song; we cannot be sure, not knowing what the word really means, but if it means 'narratives', as D. L. Clayman suggests,[2] plural songs do seem likelier than a single one. When Corinna adds

μέγα δ' ἐμῆς γέγαθε πόλις
λιγουροκωτίλυς ἐνοπῆς,

this is surely not a presumptuous claim about the effect this particular song is (already in its opening lines) having, but a statement about her established standing, about the success of her songs generally. It leads on to statements about the scope and character of her poetry, with a list of mythical topics. On this, Davies writes, 'A list of topics of song, potential or real, is also a familiar rhetorical device from the earliest days of Greek lyric. In a manner one associates with the *priamel* Corinna may well be dismissing former topics of her poetry before moving on to the actual topic of the present poem.' *O Freunde, nicht diese Töne!* Davies seems to me to be trying a confidence trick here. The 'familiar rhetorical device' is presumably represented on I[554] the one hand by the *recusatio* technique, where a series of names are mentioned from a story that is not going to be told coherently (Alcm. 1. 1–12, Ibyc. S151. 10–22), and on the other by the formula 'Shall I sing of . . . or . . . or . . .?' (*Hymn. Ap.* 207–15, Pind. fr. 29, cf. *Isth.* 7. 1–15). But Corinna is clearly neither reviewing possible themes nor dismissing them: she is indicating the range of subjects that she has actually covered in her songs. If this was merely preparatory to announcing the theme of the present song, it was an abnormal and a cumbersome way of

[1] See *SGEI* 40–59, 149 f.

[2] *CQ* 28 (1978), 396 f., connecting the word with ἐρέω and εἴρω; apparently approved by Davies, 187 n. 4.

proceeding, especially for someone who (according to the legend) reproved Pindar for 'sowing with the whole sack' in the matter of myths.[3] If on the other hand we take Corinna to be simply looking at her *œuvre* as a whole, then it is in line with the preceding reference to Tanagra's delight in her songful utterances, and it is fully comprehensible only as part of a poem specially composed to preface the collection.

There is another feature of this poem that points in the same direction. As Lobel observed when he published the papyrus,[4] it differs from most of Corinna's fragments in showing no division into strophes. So far as we can see, it is composed in stichic glyconics (with medial or final choriamb). If it were strophic, we should certainly expect the end of the strophe to be marked by some variation, probably catalexis as in 654 iii. The most obvious explanation of the anomaly will be that 655 was not, like the other poems, composed to be danced. Strophic structure is not indispensable to dancers, but if the girls of Tanagra were accustomed to matching their movements to five- or six-line stanzas, one wonders how they would control themselves in the absence of such structuring. If 655 was composed simply to be read, there was no need to make it strophic.

I conjectured that the same poem contained the criticism of Murtis for setting herself up in competition with Pindar (664), and I remarked that this censure again makes us think of the third rather than the fifth century, being most closely paralleled by Theocritus' criticism (7. 47) of those who vainly cuckoo in rivalry with Homer. Allen thinks it implausible that such a 'typically Alexandrian disagreement' should be proclaimed 'in parochial Tanagra, far from sophisticated literary circles'. He begs a question. How can we judge the degree of literary sophistication attainable by a Tanagraean poetess? Is it anyway so very sophisticated to speak in the general spirit of the age (see below)? Allen also thinks that the phrase ἔβα πὸτ ἔριν suggests an actual encounter. Pfeiffer and Page[5] likewise thought that it implied a contemporary challenge to Pindar. I fail to see why the challenge must be contemporary. Pindar's poetry lived on and could be regarded as dominating its particular field for all time. There is no reason why a Hellenistic poetess should not be described by a critic as 'competing against Pindar' in exactly the

[3] Plut. *De gloria Atheniensium* 348a.

[4] *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xxiii. 61.

[5] *Corinna* (London 1953), 31 n. 1.

same language as might have been used of a contemporary of Pindar—just as Theocritus describes the poets he mocks as *ποτὶ Χῖον ἀοιδόν | ἀντία κοκκύζοντες*. The force of the Theocritean comparison—first made by P. Guillon—is lost on Davies, who writes, 'But the notion of one poet "blaming" another is as early as Stesichorus' *Palinodes* where the poet blamed both Homer and Hesiod (fr. 193 P)'. He might have mentioned Solon's even earlier criticism of Mimnermus. But the point of comparison is not just 'the notion of one poet blaming another'. It is one poet blaming another for trying to emulate a third, a 'classic' who is really *hors de concours*. The presupposition that the most famous poets are in a class of their own, not to be competed with on their own terms, is typically Hellenistic and not fifth-century.

|555 I pointed out the huge differences of content, metre, language, and style separating Corinna's partheneia from those of Pindar and Bacchylides. Allen has nothing to say in reply. Davies resorts to the suggestion that because the content of Corinna's poetry is so different (narrative, concentrating on local Boeotian legend), we should not be surprised if the metre and style are different too. This quite fails to meet the essential point that Corinna's poetry, in all these respects, is wholly unlike what we know of choral lyric in Greece (including Boeotia) in Pindar's time. It fits a later period much better, with its self-conscious regionalism, its assertion of Boeotian dialect (whether or not the transmitted spelling is original), and the monotonous simplicity of its metres, for which I compared Aristonous' Paean of 334 BCE, the Epidaurian hymn to the Mother of the Gods, and other post-classical material.[6] The technique of Corinna's glyconics, with their high frequency of final choriamb instead of medial, again has its closest analogues in Aristonous and in the late-second-century Limenius. Allen admits this but growls obstinately 'there is nothing in Corinna's ionics or glyconics which rules out their composition in the time of Pindar'. I agree, it is not *ruled out*, but the evidence at our disposal makes it the less likely alternative.[7]

I agree with Davies that Corinna's naïveté is not to be diagnosed as 'Hellenistic pseudo-naïveté' but as 'the genuine article'. It does not

[6] *CQ* 20 (1970), 286 [above, p. 369]; cf. *Greek Metre*, 141 f.

[7] Davies (189) gives no proper account of the metrical considerations at issue.

by any means follow, however, that it is 'archaic' naïveté. Naïveté was not banished from the world by the early Ptolemies.

I pointed out that Corinna refers to the story of Zeus' being hidden by the Kouretes, a story common among the Alexandrian poets but not attested before the late fifth century. In *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983), 48 ff., 123 ff., 131 ff., 174, I have traced it back to a theogony composed *c.*430 under the name of Epimenides and another composed a little later under the name of Orpheus. To this comparatively late date for the emergence of the myth in literature Allen objects that Eumelus is said to have mentioned it. Davies, who has recently edited the epic fragments, is more accurate. What is attested for Eumelus is that he located Zeus' birth in Lydia. This may be *compatible* with the Kouretes story, as Davies says, but it certainly need not imply it and does not particularly suggest it. A reference to the story by a contemporary of Pindar, then, would be quite isolated and in my opinion very surprising.

My remaining arguments were based on points of language and diction. I will repeat the most significant items and counter the objections made by Allen and Davies.

654 i 13, ζάθεος applied to persons. Both of my critics take refuge in the emendation δαθίο[ι (to agree with ἄντροι), whereas the accent in the papyrus, δάθιο[, implies δάθιον agreeing with [βρέφο]ς. I am perfectly sure that if I had based *my* argument on an emendation, they would have been swift to seize on the fact as a chronic weakness in my case. Had no accent been written, I should myself have preferred the supplement δαθίο[ι, but since someone who had the word complete has written the accent, and we are in no position to prove it mistaken, we ought to respect its evidence. [This argument no longer stands: see the first supplementary note to the previous chapter.]

Ibid. 18, τάδ' ἔμελψεν closing the account of the song. R. Führer in his exhaustive study of speech-framing mechanisms in early lyric[8] showed that τάδε so used was paralleled only in Hellenistic verse. Allen follows Bolling, *AJP* 77 (1956), 283, in l^{556} dividing ταδε into τὰ δέ. This seems to me extremely unnatural and without advantage. Davies says, 'The resulting "Abschlussformel" is still relatively isolated, but might perhaps be compared with τῶν ἕνεκ' ἦλθ'

[8] *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Munich 1967), 40 f.

Ὀδυσεύς, ἵνα οἱ πόροι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα (*Od.* 19. 413) or Pind. *Ol.* 6. 17f. τὸ καὶ | ἀνδρὶ κώμου δεσπόται πάρεστι Συρακοσίωι (cf. the Homeric formula ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε), two early ways of resuming after a speech mentioned by Führer.' No real analogy here for τὰ ἔμελψε, and even if τά is possible, I do not see how the same can be said of δέ. It is supposed to be a case of δέ 'ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ', but it is a mystery to me why anyone should think γάρ conceivable here. Davies also tries to argue that we cannot expect an early parallel for τάδ' ἔμελψεν because we have no similar account of a song contest in early literature. 'To this extent, comparison of Corinna's phrase with passages where τάδε depends on a verb of *speaking* is misleading.' Why? Why should ἔμελψε be combined with τάδε more readily than ἔειπε? This is a red herring.

Ibid. 29, κάθεκτος, first in Demosthenes; fifth-century verse uses κάτοχος or κατάσχετος. Both Allen and Davies refer to ἀνεκτός in Homer. That only shows that κάθεκτος is a possible formation for the fifth century. The fact remains that it is not found in use so early; and it has a very prosaic appearance.

654 iii 15, δουῖν implying late Attic δυεῖν, unless Wilamowitz was right in conjecturing δουῦν. Allen merely refers to Wilamowitz; Davies says nothing at all.

Ibid. 25, ἀγείρω . . . τρίποδος, an unusual use of the adjective, with which I compared Philodamus Scarpheus' ἀγήρων . . . ναὸν ἄνακτι Φοίβωι. Allen and Davies cite Homer's application of the epithet to Athena's aegis. But it is one thing to use it of a miraculous object carried by a goddess, never seen by human eyes, and as imperishable as she is herself; quite another to use it of structures at a Greek cult centre. Corinna's use is far closer to Philodamus' than to Homer's.

655 fr. 1. 5 λιγουροκωτίλυς. I said that one would expect λιγυκωτίλος rather than λιγυροκωτίλος in a contemporary of Pindar, and I wondered where else, before Philox. Leuc. *PMG* 836. 41 χλιεροθαλπές, an adjective with the suffix -ρο- was compounded with a verbal second element. My critics have not produced one, so I will give them χλοερotρόφον at Eur. *Phoen.* 826. Late Euripides, however, does not take us out of the orbit of dithyrambic diction. Allen can do no better than suggest that λιγουροκωτίλος 'may have been coined for special effect'. Davies asks, 'can we be so very sure that a contemporary of Pindar would not, when metre prompted, have expressed the relatively unusual notion "lightly chattering" by

using the epithet λιγυροκωτίλος? As K. J. Dover reminds us,[9] "the adaptation of obscure words and the invention of new compounds are not specially characteristic of Hellenistic poetry".' Not for the first time, Davies is blurring the issue. What is significant is not the fact that λιγυροκωτίλος is a new coinage but the manner in which it is formed. Nor is it a matter of being 'very sure', but of being prepared to give due recognition to a pointer, one that happens to point in the same direction as a number of others.

674 Θέσπια καλλιγένεθλε φιλόξενε μουσοφίλητε. Davies wonders why I think this looks late in style. Well, not because of the hymn-like accumulation of epithets, but rather because of the density of meaning packed into the series, the bestowal of this hymn-like treatment on a town, and the light in which the town is seen. It suggests to me a Thespia that has become a self-conscious tourist centre, trading on its association with Hesiod, and able to refer to genealogical poetry in which its eponym was assigned her place in a worthy family line. This certainly suits the Hellenistic town, where the 'Hesiodic Muses' were honoured and the Mouseia were an I[557] important festival.[10] We can imagine such activity in the fourth century, at least after 350, but it is much less plausible in the fifth. We should not overlook the allusive learning of Corinna's καλλιγένεθλε. She expects her audience to know the antiquarian lore about Thespia's origins. And incidentally, the form Θέσπια, with the second syllable shortened, is not metrically guaranteed before the mid fourth century (*CEG* 788). In Herodotus the town is still Θέσπεια in the best manuscripts, as in Homer, and the ethnic should presumably be written Θεσπιεύς. In Thucydides, Xenophon, and Isocrates we read Θεσπιαί, Θεσπιῆς, Θεσπικός, etc., but systematic modernization in the tradition can by no means be excluded.

These are my arguments, or rather, amplifications and revetments of arguments which I would prefer to be read in their original context. What is to be said on the other side? Davies, as I have mentioned, leaves the dating question open and does not argue for a fifth-century Corinna. Allen takes his stand on the ancient references to her being Pindar's teacher or contemporary. The earliest explicit one is in Plutarch, though I willingly concede that Propertius must

[9] *Theocritus. Select Poems* (London 1971), p. lxvi.

[10] *IG* 7. 1785 (=*SIG*[3] 1117), 4240b, c, Paus. 9. 27. 5. [Cf. the third supplementary note to Chapter 28 (p. 371).]

be of a similar opinion when he calls Corinna *antiqua* (2. 3. 21). In Pausanias' time it was the belief at Tanagra, as appears from his description of a painting in the gymnasium there (9. 22. 3). But Allen goes too far in inferring from this painting and from Plutarch that it was 'a Boeotian tradition', and that Propertius' allusion 'presupposes the local Boeotian tradition'. The belief that Corinna lived in the classical period could perfectly well have arisen in the second or first century BCE anywhere where her book, but no further information, was available. Her reference to Pindar in her first poem would be quite enough to suggest that she stood in some personal, perhaps protective relationship towards him.[11] Once the news got out that the works of a new classical lyric poet from Tanagra had been found, it would very readily be accepted and promulgated at Tanagra itself. This was just the sort of thing that gave a Hellenistic town prestige. And Pindar's teacher!

Allen's short article is accompanied by another of like dimensions by J. Frel on the iconographical evidence for Corinna. He claims that it supports the statement by Tatian that a statue of Corinna was made by Silanion, who worked in the second half of the fourth century. Tatian's testimony is notoriously untrustworthy.[12] The archaeological evidence that is supposed to confirm it consists of a Roman statuette which has lost its original head but appears to be derived from a fourth-century model. It bears a retouched inscription identifying it as Corinna. I referred to the object in my 1970 article (above, p. 360), and pointed out that there is no proof that the original as well as the copy was intended as Corinna. To quote myself: 'if she did not exist in the fourth century, and a demand for busts of her only arose in a period of imitation, what was to stop a Sappho being used as a model?' Frel admits that this is a valid question.[13] The best he can do by way of reply is to ask, 'if a sculptor of the Roman times was perfectly able to recreate a statue in the style of the fifth century, why should he use a fourth-century type for one of the *non traditi voltus* from the fifth century?' I should answer, because there were no fifth-century models for poetesses. In any case that sort of authenticity was not considered important. No one sought to give Sappho an archaic face.

[11] Cf. M. R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London 1981), 64 f.
[12] See Page, *Corinna*, 73 n. 6.
[13] Davies too (194 n. 28) finds my scepticism 'reasonable'.

30

The Epidaurian Hymn to the Mother of the Gods

When a poem inscribed on a stone is metrically faulty and does not altogether make sense, the reason may be that it was composed by an incompetent poet. In the case of the Epidaurian hymn to the Mother of the Gods,[1] however, such an explanation is inadequate. κατωρημενα φρένας in 8 is obviously a mistake caused by κατ' ὤρεα καὶ νάπας in 6. τὰ τύμπαν' ἐλάμβανε impossibly appears twice, 12 and 14, and it makes sense in neither place. At 19 we seem to jump from the middle of one speech into the middle of the reply. Clearly the original has suffered serious corruption, and textual criticism is called for.

K. Latte, in reviewing Maas's edition,[2] made two important observations: that the stonecutter has made a perfectly good job of the hymn to Pan (see below, n. 5), so that the trouble here was with the hand-copy he was using; and that the duplications in 6/8 and 12/14 imply a copy in which two verses were written in each line. On this premise, I restore the poem on these lines:

[Πιμπληϊάδε]ς θεαί,
δεῦρ' ἔλθετ' ἀπ' ὠρανῶ
καί μοι συναείσατε
τὰν Ματέρα τῶν θεῶν,
|[213] ὡς ἦλθε πλανωμένα
κατ' ὤρεα καὶ νάπας,

From 'Melica', *CQ* 20 (1970), 205–15, at 212–15. There the footnotes were numbered anew on each page.

[1] *IG* 4². 131; P. Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen* (Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswiss. Klasse, 9: 5, Halle (Saale) 1933), 134–41; *PMG* 935.

[2] *GGA* 196 (1934), 409 = *Kl Schr.* (Munich 1969), 754.

σύρουσα ῥυτὰ[ν] κόμαν
φρένας <τ' ἀλύουσα>.
ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ἐσιδὼν ἄναξ
10 τὰν Ματέρα τῶν θεῶν
11 κεραυνὸν ἔβαλλε καὶ
13 πέτρας διέρησε·
13a καὶ <Κύπρις ἔπειθε, καὶ>
[12] 14 τὰ τύμπαν' ἐλάμβανε·
15 "Μάτηρ ἄπιθ' εἰς θεούς,
15a <πατήρ σε καλεῖ Ζεύς·>
καὶ μὴ κατ' ὄρη πλαν[ῶ]·
μὴ σοὶ χαροποὶ λέον-
18 τες ἢ πολιοὶ λύκοι
18a <φίλοι γεγόνασιν;>"
ἢ δ' "οὐκ ἀπ<ελεύσομαι>,
20 ἂν μὴ τὰ μέρη λάβω,
τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ὠρανῶ,
τὸ δ' ἥμισυ γαίας,
πόντω τε τρίτον μέρος·
χοὕτως ἀπελεύσομαι."
25 χαῖρ' ὦ μεγάλα ἄνασ-
σα, Μᾶτερ Ὀλύμπω.

1. [*Πιμπληϊάδε*]ς Peek; Wifstrand's [*ὦ Πιερίδε*]ς is too short, and *ὦ Ὀλυμπιάδε*]ς would involve an unlikely synecphonesis.

4. If *θεῶν* is scanned disyllabically as in 10 and 15, there is no catalexis. Maas accepted this, and said that the poem consisted 'aus 6 Vierzeilern, die teils durch Sinnespause, teils durch Katalexe (22), teils durch beides abgegrenzt werden' (p. 135). But there is nowhere where it is certain that there was not catalexis.[s1] The poet need not have scanned the word the same way each time, cf. *κατ' ὥρεα* 6 : *κατ' ὄρη* 16.

7. Editors have read *συρουσαρπα*[ ]*τα*[ ]*κομαν*, presumably *ῥυτὰν* {*τὰν*} *κόμαν*, 'trailing her streaming hair', though if it were my poem I would have preferred *λυτάν*, 'loosed, unbound'.[s2]

8. If the stonecutter has followed his copy faithfully here, it had:

ΩCHΛΘЄΠΛΑΝΩΜЄΝΑ·ΚΑΤ'ΩΡЄΑΚΑΙΝΑΠΑC

CYPOYCAPYTANTANKOMAN·ΚΑΤ'ΩΡΗΜЄΝΑΦΡЄΝΑC

κατ' ὥρη is a false variant to the line above; and *μενα* may have been a correction of (*πλανω*)*μένη*. If so, *φρένας* is left by itself to be filled out into a reizianus.[s3]

11 ff. As Maas saw, 13 follows on 11, completing the quatrain. As an anonymous pupil of his saw, the subject of τὰ τύμπαν' ἐλάμβανε was an emissary sent to liven up the Mother: the words are used in exactly the same situation in Eur. *Hel.* 1347,

> τύ{μ}πανά τ' ἔλαβε βυρσοτενῆ
> καλλίστα τότε πρῶτα μακά-
> ρων Κύπρις,

I[214] and to give them any other sense here is sheer perversity. Hence my supplement in 13a. The manuscript, or an earlier copy, will have had:

	ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΝΕΒΑΛΛΕΚΑΙΤΑΤΥΜΠΑΝ'ΕΛΑΜΒΑΝΕ
ΠΕΤΡΑC Χ	ΚΑΙΚΥΠΡΙCΕΠΕΙΘΕΚΑΙΤΑΤΥΜΠΑΝ'ΕΛΑΜΒΑΝΕ
ΔΙΕΡΗCCΕ	

—verse 14 being accidentally anticipated as 12, and the correction substituted for 13a instead of for 12.

The stone has διερρησσε.

15a. I have supplied this on the model of *Hymn. Dem.* 460 (Rhea to Demeter in similar circumstances),

> δεῦρο τέκος, καλέει σε βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς
> ἐλθέμεναι μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν.

The similarity of πατηρ to ματηρ might have caused omission in a copy with only one verse to the line. That would mean that in the stonecutter's copy the lines ran 15/16, 17/18, and so on.

17. I write σοί for σε. (It might have been interpreted as σε οἱ and the article then omitted.) As Latte observed, the Mother ought to be quite at home with lions and wolves. The Homeric Hymn says of her (14. 3–5),

> ἦι κροτάλων τυπάνων τ' ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν
> εὔαδεν ἠδὲ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων
> οὔρεά τ' ἠχήεντα.

Hence my supplement in 18a, making Aphrodite innocently hit on a significant fact.

19. The stone has καὶ οὐκ ἄπειμι εἰς θεούς. I emend to ἢ δ' (an easy graphic corruption),[s4] and ἀπελεύσομαι as in 24; ἄπειμι εἰς θεούς represents assimilation to 15.

21. The stone has ουρανω.[s5]

23. τε Latte, for τό. She does not want a third of the sea, but a half share of the sea thirdly.

26. The stone has ολυμπου.

Maas dated the hymn to the fifth century BCE (ascribing it to Telesilla on the strength of its metre and its simplicity, which seemed to him a feminine characteristic); Latte to the second century CE.[s6] The one dating seems to me exaggeratedly early and the other exaggeratedly late. The transfer to the Mother of the Gods of the myth of Demeter's withdrawal from heaven presupposes the syncretism of the two deities which first appears in the late fifth century.[3] [s7] The sketchy nature of the narrative implies a story well known. Details of language such as μοι συναείσατε, διέρησσε, ἄν μή, χοὔτως, bring the composition down to the Hellenistic age, see Latte 410 f. (755 f.). The metrical structure has its nearest analogues in Aristonous (334 BCE) and Corinna (for whom I argue on pp. 277 ff. below [=Chapter 28 above] a third-century date).[s8] I can find no example of the use of |[215] glyconic or related verses, in stanzas or κατὰ στίχον, later than Limenius (127 BCE).[4] The use of Doric ω (ὠρανῶ, etc.) is also against Latte's date. Mesomedes does not use it, though he still has α sporadically in words like Λατοῦς, εὐφαμείτω. The digamma-hiatus μεγάλα ἄνασσα and the synapheias λέον|τες, ἄνασ|σα, would again be unthinkable in the Imperial period. The old, simple myth is presented in the simplest form, invocation—narrative—salutation, as in several of the Homeric Hymns (e.g. 4, 7, 26, 28). There is no trace of Stoic or other philosophical interpretation such as we see in Lucretius 2. 598 ff. or Orph. *Hymn.* 14 and 27. The third century BCE would seem to satisfy the evidence best.

In the case of the hymn to Pan inscribed at the same time[5] Latte's Hadrianic date may stand. To his arguments add that the cosmic hymn rising from earth and sea to Olympus (12 ff.) resembles Mesomedes 5. 1 ff. (Heitsch), cf. 2. 17 ff.

[3] Melanippides and Telestes, *PMG* 764; Eur. *Hel.* 1301 ff., cf. *Phoen.* 685 f., *Bacch.* 275; P. Derveni xxii 7. The *Helen* passage is particularly relevant, as it tells the same story.

[4] Priapeans are still used by Herodorus of Seleucia, *SEG* 7. 14 (first century BCE, cf. Nilsson, *ARW* 30 (1933), 164 n. 3). *GDK* no. 5 may be Hellenistic. Latin poets are not relevant.

[5] *IG* 4². 130; Maas, 130–4; *PMG* 936; Latte, 405–9 (750–4).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. I approached the poem predisposed to find a regular metrical form, and I was able to restore such a form while emending the text only where the sense was defective. I ended with seven strophes, each with a catalectic fourth verse. Three of the seven fourth verses, however, were wholly or mainly of my own composition, and another, 4 *τὰν Ματέρα τῶν θεῶν*, can be read as either catalectic or acatalectic, depending on whether *θεῶν* is monosyllabic or (as in 10 and 15) disyllabic. The possibility must be allowed that the poet admitted catalectic and acatalectic endings indifferently, as Mesomedes and Lucian do in their apokrota (see my *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982), 172).

   There is another inconsistency in the metre of the poem: the enjambments in 17–18 *λέον|τες* and 25–6 *ἄνασ|σα*, and the placing of *καί* at line-end in 11, would imply that the verses within the strophe are in synapheia, yet in 3 *καί μοι συναείσατε* (and in 14 *τὰ τύμπαν' ἐλάμβανε* unless we add movable nu) the *brevis in longo* contradicts that premise. Cf. Maas, 135 and W. J. W. Koster, *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks 25: 4 (Amsterdam 1962), 223.
2. Or *χυτάν*, cf. Nic. *Th.* 503 (of a plant's leaves), *χυτὴ περιδέδρομε χαίτη*. For the picture of the distraught goddess cf. Bion, *Adonis* 20 f., *λυσαμένα πλοκαμίδας ἀνὰ δρυμὼς ἀλάληται | πενθαλέα νήπλεκτος ἀσάνδαλος*.
3. If an acatalectic ending is acceptable, it is tempting to read *κὠρινομένα φρένας* with J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in Greek Literature*, Third Series (Oxford 1933), 205.
4. *ἦ δ'* might perhaps have been mistaken for *ἠδ'* 'and' and banalized to *καὶ*.
5. This verse is anomalous both in having two syllables before the dactyl and in having hiatus after *ἥμισυ*. The unelidability of *-υ* is a mitigating factor (cf. *Greek Metre*, 11), but hiatus is normally avoided in competent versification after Homer. On these anomalies cf. Koster, op. cit., 221, 222. Both can be eliminated by writing *τὸ μὲν μέρος ὠρανῶ*. It is an easy assumption that the stonecutter or a prior copyist anticipated *ἥμισυ* from the next line.
6. So also Koster, op. cit., 228–30.
7. It is perhaps already implied at Pind. *Isth.* 7. 3 f., cf. Willcock's and Privitera's commentaries ad loc.
8. Add *PMG* 1036 = *GDK* 5, a fragment of a lyric narrative in four-line strophes consisting each of three glyconics and a pherecratean. It comes from a papyrus of the second or third century CE, but the composition may be Hellenistic.

31

The *Anacreontea*

When we think of Greek sympotic poetry, we think primarily of poetry composed between the seventh and fifth centuries BCE. But we have sporadic examples from later periods. One may think, for instance, of that interesting collection of stanzas beginning with successive letters of the alphabet and each rounded off with the refrain αὔλει μοι, of which parts are preserved on two Oxyrhynchus papyri, one of the first century CE, the other of the third.[1] Each stanza is self-contained and expresses a gnomic, popular philosophy of a sub-Cynic, hedonistic kind. This appears to have been a favourite text at Oxyrhynchus over many generations.

But most of the later examples of sympotic poetry are to be found among the *Anacreontea*, a corpus of some 62 poems preserved in a tenth-century manuscript under the title 'Anacreon of Teos' Sympotic Hemiambics' (Ἀνακρέοντος Τηίου συμποσιακὰ ἡμιάμβια) and re-edited by myself in 1984 in the Teubner series. The manuscript is the same one that contains what we call the Palatine Anthology, which is a compilation from various collections of poems made at very different times. The *Anacreontea* appear in the middle of what, since Jacobs, we call Book 15 of the Anthology; but they are clearly demarcated from their surroundings by their separate title and by a subscription at the end, τέλος τῶν Ἀνακρέοντος συμποσιακῶν. The corpus falls fairly clearly into four parts, corresponding to four distinct ancient collections, which were evidently not all of equal age. None of the poems is genuinely by Anacreon.

O. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica. The Papers of a Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford 1990), 272–6. The verses at the end are from Edward FitzGerald, *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám.*

[1] P. Oxy. 15 and 1795 (*Coll. Alex.* 199, *GDK* 7–8).

There is no question about that. We are talking about a period extending from the late Hellenistic age (at the earliest) down to probably the fifth or sixth century CE.

The four parts into which the collection falls are as follows:[2]

1. Poems 1–20, with the exclusion of 2, 3, and 5. These are skilful and charming poems in the late Hellenistic manner, arranged by metre (1–15: hemiambics, i.e. catalectic iambic dimeters; 16–18: anacreontics; 19 and 20: other metres). Several of them refer to Anacreon or to Bathyllos, the boy praised by Anacreon, and some of them are actually composed in Anacreon's persona. One of them, no. 4, is quoted as Anacreon's by Aulus Gellius (19. 9. 6), which shows that at least some of these poems were current, and assumed to be by Anacreon himself, by the second century. This is the earliest *terminus ante quem* that we have for any of the *Anacreontea*. Another of the poems in this first group is clearly imitated by Palladas in the fourth century, and there I[273] are echoes of others in Gregory of Nazianzus. Evidently they were quite well known in those centuries. It may also be mentioned that three of these poems (4, 6, and 8) found their way from a different source into the anthology of Constantine Cephalas (late ninth century) and from there into the Palatine and/or the Planudean and Paris anthologies.
2. Poems 21–34. This section might be regarded as a kind of appendix or supplement to the first group. The poems are of a generally similar character to those of the first group, except that here there are no allusions to Anacreon or his circle, and the charm is perhaps a little more thinly spread. They are nearly all to do with love. The arrangement is again by metre (21–7: hemiambics; 28–34: anacreontics). As in the first group, the dialect is Ionic and the standard of versification is good.
3. Poems 35–53. This series clearly had a different origin. There are many signs of lateness in the language; the prosody is often very bad, showing the influence of the accent; there are all kinds of metrical freedom, and no metrical principle of arrangement. These poems date perhaps from the fifth or sixth

[2] What follows is set out with a little more detail in the preface to my edition, *Carmina Anacreontea* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1984; 2nd corrected ed. 1993).

century. It is this group above all that is characterized by symposiastic themes.

4. Poems 54–60. These poems have the appearance of being equally late, but they are more learned in character, more rhetorical and self-conscious. They tend to be longer than those in the preceding group, and composed in longer, more complex sentences. In the final poem Anacreon is mentioned once more, and it looks as if this was put here deliberately to round off the whole collection.

Some of the poets of the *Anacreontea* look back to Anacreon as their patriarch, or even adopt his persona: what, then, are we to think of the sympotic scenes evoked in the collection? Are they simply imaginative re-creations of the archaic symposion, or do they show us something of real-life festivity in the Roman or early Byzantine period? I think the latter, not least because the group of poems which is the most sympotic in outlook is also the least learned and literary in character. It contains no mentions of Anacreon, and no apparent attempts to recall the world of archaic Greece. There are within it, to be sure, one or two verbal quotations from Anacreon, but they are famous quotations, tags that almost everyone must have known; I do not suppose the poets could have given their contexts.[3] In these poems we are worlds away from Athenaeus' antiquarian interest in the details of the ancient symposion. They are not devoid of conventional motifs, but not all of the conventional motifs are old ones.

Let me take poem 32 as an initial specimen of the genre. There are three stanzas of six lines each.

On soft boughs of myrtle and on lotus-grass let me make my couch and drink a toast. [*This sounds realistic; but then:*] And let Eros, with his tunic fastened back at the neck with papyrus, serve me with wine.

For like a chariot-wheel life rolls along: we shall lie a little heap of dust when our bones are undone. Why put your myrrh on a gravestone, or pour your wine uselessly on the earth?

Rather perfume me while I'm alive, and deck my head with roses, and send for my girl-l[274]friend. Before I depart, Eros, down there to the dances of those below, let me disperse my cares.

[3] Poem 47. 6–10 quotes Anacreon *PMG* 429 (also on a mosaic from Gaul, *SEG* 26. 1213), ὁ μὲν θέλων μάχεσθαι κτλ.; 52A. 2 varies Anacreon 396. 1 φέρ' ὕδωρ, φέρ' οἶνον ὦ παῖ.

Perfume, garlands, love, and wine: these belong to the ancient symposion. 'Live while you may' is also an ancient message. But the whole is somehow different from any early sympotic poem. The trappings of the symposion are there, but where is the company? The singer sounds as if he is on his own. (This is not untypical of these poems.) He throws together popular *gnomai* in a manner that recalls the alphabetic poem from Oxyrhynchus. Eros' papyrus toggle is a distinctly post-classical article.[4]

Poem 38 is quite similar. After celebrating Bacchos as the inventor of dancing, the lover of songs and friend of loves, the father of intoxication and delight, who puts an end to grief and lulls pain to sleep, the poet refers to the soft-skinned boys who are serving the wine, and then reaches for the clichés of the genre:

Let us therefore take our drink, and abandon our cares. What do you gain by worrying?

How can we know the future? Man's life is uncertain. Let me be drunk and dance and play, perfumed, <with the fair lads>,

With fair women too: let those who want concern themselves with all that causes worry.

Let us cheerfully drink our wine, and sing of Bacchos.

Poem 43 gives us a fuller picture of a symposion:

Let us fasten garlands of roses on our temples and get cheerfully drunk. The lyre plays, and a girl with an ivy-crowned thyrsos and elegant ankles is dancing. At the same time a boy with fine locks plays the kithara and pours forth a clear song from his fragrant lips. And Eros the lovely-haired and lovely Aphrodite will gladly join the *komos* that old men enjoy.

It is a somewhat idealized picture; the musical instruments are called by old poetic names (βάρβιτος, πηκτίς),[5] but dancing as a Bacchant seems a genuine feature of Imperial-age jollification.[6] Garlands of

[4] Cf. Juvenal 4. 24, *succinctus patria quondam . . . papyro.*

[5] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (7. 72. 5) tells us that the Greeks no longer used the barbitos in his time. πηκτίς originally denoted a harp, but in the Roman period it becomes a literary word for a lyre (Marcus Argentarius, *Epigr.* 26 Gow–Page; Lucian, *Dial. Mar.* 1. 4; Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 10. 3). [See further *CQ* 47 (1997), 48–55.]

[6] In the classical period Bacchants belonged on the one hand to mythology, on the other to ritual, but not to vaudeville. It was in Hellenistic times that they began to play a part in public and private entertainment, as the Dionysiac mythology became more of a source of masquerade and fantasy-enactment. The spectacular procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos described by Callixenus (*FGrHist* 627 F 2) must have done much to set the tone of the age.

roses can be found as early as Sappho, but there is a particular preoccupation with them in these *Anacreontea*. One entire poem (55) is devoted to the celebration of roses, and they are a favourite subject in other literature of the period.[7]

The motif of old men enjoying themselves at the party, dancing and forgetting their years, is also prominent in the *Anacreontea*. Take poem 47. 11 ff.:

I'm an old man, but I drink more than the young ones; and if I have to dance, why, I'll dance like Silenos in the middle of them!

Or 53:

I[275] When I look at the young men gathered together, I'm in my prime. Then, old as I am, I take wing for the dance, I go mad, I go wild. Here, give me a garland: I'll shed my hoary old age and dance as a young 'un among the young 'uns. And someone bring me Dionysos' fruit juice (*Διονυσίης . . . ῥοὰν ὀπώρης*), and he'll see an old man's strength, one who knows how to speak, knows how to drink, and knows how to go delightfully crazy (*χαριέντως τε μανῆναι*).

A more sombre (and a more genuinely Anacreontic) tone is struck in 52A:

White hairs encircle my head. Give me the water, boy, the wine; sink my soul in a stupor. I've but a short time to live: the dead man knows no desire.

Mindless hedonism is the keynote of these poems.

I long for the dances of sportive Dionysos; I love it when I play the lyre with an ephebe as fellow drinker; but most of all I love to bind my temples with hyacinth garlands and play with girls. My heart knows no grudge; I avoid the puny arrows of the abusive tongue; I abhor fights over the cups. At feasts and revelries, with fresh young girls, dancing to the barbitos, may I achieve a life of peace. (42)

The son of Zeus, Bacchos, Lyaios who relaxes the thoughts, when he enters my consciousness with his gift of wine, he teaches me to dance . . . Aphrodite brings me pleasure too, with clapping, with song: come, another dance! (49)

What emerges, then, from the comparison of these Anacreontean symposia with those of archaic and classical Greece? What is missing, and what is new?

[7] See e.g. Libanius, *Progymn.* viii. 482–3 Foerster; the first six anacreontic poems of Georgius Grammaticus (sixth century: Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*[4] iii. 364 ff.), and the fourth of John of Gaza (ibid. 345); *Anth. Lat.* 272–4, 520.

We miss any reference to 'ritual' elements such as the washing of hands, the singing of the paean, the passing of the myrtle branch, and the performance of skolia. There is music, but only from lyres: we might have expected the aulos to be mentioned somewhere. One does not feel that these people are likely to play at kottabos when we are not looking. There is a general absence of conversation, social intercourse; the old man portrays himself among a crowd of young ones, but in general there is little sense of the presence of companions, unless they happen to be attractive ephebes. The drinker exists in solitary beatitude, drenched in perfume, laden with rose-garlands, with beautiful boys and girls to bring him wine and to delight his eyes and ears with song and dance and his other senses with amorous dalliance.

Yet it is not all fantasy. The picture is idealized, but there are details drawn from real life: the myrtle and lotus-grass strewn on the ground; the attendant with his tunic fastened back at the neck with a papyrus toggle; the girl who dances as a Bacchant with an ivy-crowned thyrsos; the old fellow who gets up and capers with the youngsters on his shaky legs, white hair flying; the singing, the clapping. They add up to something recognizable, and something convincingly Greek—something that has its own place somewhere on the way between the age of Anacreon and the age of the bouzouki. As for the simple philosophical reflections on death that must presently overtake all our jollity, these are a timeless element, the property of no one nation or period. We can trace such sentiments back as far as the Egypt of the Middle Kingdom, if not further. Still, unoriginal as they may be, there is something poignant in these modest little songs of mortality from anonymous merry-makers of fifteen hundred years ago.

Alas, that Spring should vanish with the Rose!
That Youth's sweet-scented Manuscript should close!
  The Nightingale that in the Branches sang,
Ah, whence, and whither flown again, who knows?

Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
Before we too into the Dust descend;
  Dust into Dust, and under Dust, to lie,
Sans Wine, sans Song, sans Singer, and—sans End!

Παροψημάτια

I
AUS DER GESCHICHTE DER TEXTÜBERLIEFERUNG[1]

Die folgende Geschichte
  mag euch interessieren.
Der Bischof gab dem Abt
  die Predigt zum Kopieren.

Ein Fehler ist entstanden:
  Der Bischof, wo der Abt
nur 'hatte' hatte, hatte
  'gehabt hatte' gehabt.

'Gehabt hatte' hatte
  den feineren Sinn gehabt:
es ist ganz klar, ein Bischof
  machts besser als ein Abt.

II
VERSES SENT TO BRUNO SNELL, JUNE 1986

On receiving the revised edition of B. Snell and R. Kannicht, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. i (Tragici minores):

ἤσθην τραγωιδοῖς τοῖσιν ἀκλεεστέροις
νῦν αὖτε μελέταις δευτέραις ὀρθουμένοις,
οὓς οὗτος οὔνομ' οὐκ ἐτήτυμον φέρων,
ὁ σοὶ μετασχὼν τῶν πόνων, ἔπεμψέ μοι.

And on his ninetieth birthday:

ἐννέα μὲν δεκάδας, δέκα δ' ἐννεάδας τελέσαντι
εὔφρων εὐξύνετος μὴ 'πιλίποι βίοτος.

[1] *ZPE* 26 (1977), 43.

χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ πάντων Ἑλληνικογραμματολήπτων
ἐννηκονταετῶν μουσοφιλητότατε.

III
A HEXAMETER CONTAINING NO CONSONANTS

What Hermes might have said to Circe about Odysseus:

Αἰαίη, ἦ οὔ ἑ ὀΐεαι ἠόϊ αἰεί
ἰμείρειν νόστοιο καὶ οὐκέτι σῆς φιλότητος;

IV
CASSANDRA SMELLS DINNER

Patina de asparagis

— —

Scallops braised in their shells with pastry lids

— —

Roast loin of veal with chicory and lime sauce

— —

Quail barquette

In 1960 I became the first holder of the Woodhouse Junior Research Fellowship in Classics at St. John's College, Oxford. In March 1988 a number of my successors and I attended a celebratory dinner at the college. Donald Russell sent me the above menu in advance and invited me to translate it into Greek. I responded with the following *jeu d'esprit*, which was supplied with the menu to those in attendance.

Κασσάνδρα, Χορός

Κα. Ἄπολλον· Ἄπολλον·
ἆ ποῖ ποτ' ἤγαγές με, πρὸς ποίαν στέγην;
Χο. τοῦ μυστοβάπτου δῶμ' Ἰωάννου τόδε·
ἴσασι πάντες· καὶ νεογνὸς ἂν φράσαι.
Κα. δουράτεος μὲν οὖν δόμος ἐτητύμως·
πολλὰ δὲ θαλυκρὰ κρεατόμα
μέλλοντα θυμὸς θερμόνους θεσπίζεται.
Χο. ἔοικεν εὖρις ἡ ξένη κυνὸς δίκην
δαιτός τιν' ὀσμὴν οὐ μάτην ἰχνοσκοπεῖν.

Κα. *μαρτυρίοισι γὰρ τοῖσδ' ἐπιπείθομαι·*
ἀσφάραγος ἄχε' ὀδύρεται
πάντριπτα τηγανίστ', ἀνήκεστον πάθος.
Χο. *εὖφρον τόδ' εἶπας, εἰ γένοιτ'· εἰ δ' ὧδ' ἔχει,*
τίς οἶδεν, εἴτε θεῖον ὁρμᾶται ψύθος;
Κα. *ἰὼ ποποῖ, τί ποτε μήδεται;*
τί τόδε νέον ἐδώδιμον
μέγ' ἐν δόμοισι τοῖσδε μήδεται γάνος;
προβαίνει γὰρ ἐκ κτεὶς
κτενὸς ὀρεγομένοις,
καλύπτραισιν ἐμμεμωλυσμένος
περιμεμαγμέναισιν αὐτόστρακος.
Χο. *τούτων ἄϊδρίς εἰμι τῶν μαντευμάτων,*
ἐκεῖνα δ' ἔγνων· τῶνδε γὰρ τορώτερα.
Κα. *ἆ ἆ ἴδου ἴδου· ἄπεχε πόρτιος*
θηκτὸν σίδαρον· ἰσχίων δ' ἀποφθορᾶι
Ἐρινύος μύκημα μυκηθήσεται·
ὀπταὶ δὲ σάρκες ἀνακαλοῦσ' ἀλάστορα.
χλωρός τε κιχόροις ξυγκοπεὶς ἶνις κίτρου
χεῖται, παρόψωνημα βουφόνου χλιδῆς.
Χο. *οὐ κομπάσαιμ' ἂν θεσφάτων γνώμων ἄκρος*
εἶναι, καλῶι δέ τωι προσεικάζω τόδε.
Κα. *ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας μόρος ὄρτυγος·*
περέβαλον γάρ οἱ βάριδος εἰκόνισμ'
ἀντίτυπον βίαι Δίκας κρεισσόνων εὐπάλαμοι τέχναι·
μίμνει δὲ πάντως σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί.
Χο. *τὴν μὲν ξυνῆκα δαιτὸς ἔξαρχον φάτιν,*
τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἀκούσας ἐκ δρόμου πεσὼν τρέχω.
Κα. *καὶ μὴν ἄγαν Ἕλλην' ἔγωγ' ἐπίσταμαι*
φωνήν· σὺ δ' οὖν τάδ' αὐτίκ' αὐτόμαρτυς ὤν
ἐπαινέσεις, αὐτουργός, αὐτοδαιταλεύς.
τὴν γὰρ στέγην τήνδ' οὔποτ' ἐκλείπει χορός
νέων παλαιοῖς ἐμμυουμένων λόγοις,
ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχαῖς λαχὼν γέρας·
νικᾶι δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος φανείς.
Χο. *τί δρῶμεν ὦνδρες; ἆρά γ' ἐμπεσεῖν δοκεῖ*
καὶ πρᾶγμ' ἐλέγχειν; φροιμιάζεται γὰρ εὖ.
— *ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἄκαιρα βουλεύειν δοκεῖς·*
κενὴ δὲ γαστὴρ μάντεων σοφωτάτη.
— *κἀγὼ τοιοῦτός εἰμι τὴν γνώμην, ἐπεὶ*
τράπεζα πλήρης κρεῖσσον ἐκκυκλήματος.
— *ἀλλ' εἰσίωμεν πάντες εὔξυλον δόμον·*
θεοὶ δὲ δοῖεν τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐπῶν.

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